

RECUSANT HISTORY

Joint Editors

A. F. ALLISON *of the Department of Printed Books
at the British Museum, and Honorary
Librarian to the Catholic Record Society.*

D. M. ROGERS *of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.*

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TEN YEARS OF RECUSANT HISTORY

By THE EDITORS

With the issue for January 1961 *Recusant History* begins its eleventh year of publication, and it seems fitting that we should mark the completion of a decade by giving a brief report on the work of the past ten years and indicating our plans for the future.

When we began, in January 1951, to publish a periodical with the title *Biographical Studies . . . Materials towards a biographical dictionary of Catholic history in the British Isles from the breach with Rome to Catholic Emancipation*, we formulated our policy in these words: "So much material has come to light since the publication of such standard works as Foley's *Records*, Gillow's *Bibliographical Dictionary*, and the *Dictionary of National Biography*, that it is desirable that the biographies in them should be revised and supplemented and that others should be added." On looking back, however, it is apparent that the launching of the periodical coincided with a substantial revival of interest in post-Reformation Catholic history in this country. One feature of the revival has been that students have found in this field of study new and important subjects of research. Articles of merit were offered to us which were not solely biographical in content. In deciding to publish such studies we showed that we had come to realize that the periodical which we had intended as a means to the creation of a new and scholarly biographical dictionary ought really to serve a wider purpose.

In a word, we had made our original terms of reference too narrow. What was needed was a periodical that would lay the foundations of a general history of Catholicism in these islands since the Reformation. The title was changed, therefore, to *Recusant History*. *A journal of research in post-Reformation Catholic history in the British Isles*. "Six years ago," we wrote in our preface to vol. 4, no. 1, "*Biographical Studies* began as

an experimental publication. Our main intention then was to try and repair, by gradual stages, some of the omissions and errors in Gillow's *Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics*, and we defined our terms of reference accordingly. It soon became apparent, however, that by insisting too rigidly upon them, we should have to exclude much valuable work in the field of Recusant history for which there was no other organ of publication. With the permission of the Council of the Catholic Record Society, which took over editorial direction in 1953, we began tacitly to disregard our original terms of reference and to publish research on any aspect of Recusant history. Our new title, therefore, is not an indication of a break in policy but a formal endorsement of a change which has been gradually taking place for some time." It might be well at this point to explain the significance of the new title. Strictly speaking, a recusant was anyone who refused to attend the Anglican church service when such attendance was obligatory by law. But the word came to be applied particularly to Catholics who refused conformity, and by extension it is now used as a convenient general term to describe in one word what pertains to Catholicism during its period as a proscribed creed. It is in this general sense that we use the word.

Extending the scope of the periodical meant not only affording publication to scholarly contributions from new fields of research, but also by such publication serving the wider needs of historians. Scholars will be aware that no one has yet written a full and adequate study of post-Reformation English Catholicism. The historian who aspires to do so must approach his subject from many points of view, each of which requires specialist knowledge. For example, in describing the techniques of repression which the English government employed against the Catholics, and judging their effect, he must not only be familiar with all the complexities of the recusancy laws and Exchequer procedure, but must also have at his disposal documentary evidence concerning Catholics of all levels of society at different periods and in different parts of the country. Clearly no one historian can acquire the necessary knowledge of these and other specialist matters by tackling all the primary sources for himself. We are trying to prepare the way for the general historian by assembling for him the specialist studies he needs.

TEN YEARS OF RECUSANT HISTORY

This periodical, therefore, aims to provide the historian with the matter on which to base his judgments. But a historian has not only to make judgments; he has also to organize his material into an intelligible whole. This is difficult enough in itself, but if it further entails the necessity to present in detail the evidence for a complicated mass of statements, inferences and conjectures, the task becomes well-nigh impossible unless all attempt at coherent and orderly exposition is abandoned. The footnote system breaks down when a footnote becomes an essay requiring its *own* footnotes. The historian should be able to pursue his narrative unhampered by the need to make too many asides, and for this to be possible he should be able to refer for his evidence to material already in print.

Let us illustrate this by quoting two recent articles in *Recusant History* which treat exhaustively of matters in themselves obscure and involved which nevertheless have important bearings on the history of English Catholicism. It is clearly essential for the historian to know the attitude of the English Jesuits in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries towards armed rebellion against a persecuting sovereign. Were any of them involved, for example, in the Gunpowder Plot, as the government of the time, and also some fellow-Catholics, tried to maintain? If it could be shown that the Society of Jesus was in fact involved, the implications would be far-reaching. In "John Gerard and the Gunpowder Plot" (Vol. 5, no. 2), the evidence for the alleged complicity of one prominent Jesuit is subjected to a detailed examination which would be quite out of place in a general history. The second example relates to complicated diplomatic negotiations which took place in 1603. These aimed at establishing some kind of unofficial liaison between James I and the Pope, and persuading Philip III to make toleration for English Catholics a condition of peace between Spain and England. The negotiations and their background are set out in detail in "The Embassy of Sir Anthony Standen in 1603" by L. Hicks, the first two parts of which have now been published (Vol. 5, nos. 3, 5). Both articles are examples of footnotes to history, but footnotes too extensive to occupy the pages of a general work.

Despite our change of title and the enlargement of scope which the new title reflects, biography has always featured extensively in this

periodical and will continue to do so. If any such biographical dictionary as we at first envisaged is one day to be written, it cannot ignore this accumulating collection of materials. Similarly, although history is no longer thought of simply as the lives of great men, it remains true that the historian needs a framework of carefully documented biographical detail if he is to chronicle and appraise correctly the clash of personalities and the interplay of men and events. Biographical contributions to *Recusant History* have ranged in extent from articles embracing a man's entire life, such as that on "Henry Constable, Poet and Courtier" by George Wickes (Vol. 2, no. 4), and that on "Peter Philips, Composer and Organist" by A. G. Petti (Vol. 4, no. 2), down to notes a page or two long elucidating single points relating to the parentage, birth, life and activities of English Catholics.

Both long and short contributions are valuable and will continue to be welcomed. The full-dress biography requires no justification, but from the start we have also invited short notes for the purpose of recording evidence as it comes to light and thereby stimulating further research. Documents and references which may establish hitherto unknown biographical facts often come the way of the researcher by chance, usually when he is looking for something entirely different. He will probably make a note of such random discoveries but will be tempted to lay them aside for lack of time to follow them up. By putting them into print, even as they stand, he may make a contribution to our knowledge of a man's life, the significance of which may not always be apparent to the finder. Sometimes the publication of this type of chance discovery will lead to more extended researches at a later date; sometimes it will illuminate material already in print. For example, ten years ago we published a biographical article (Vol. 1, no. 1) on John Abbot, the Catholic poet and confessor, which materially corrected and supplemented two confusing accounts of him in the Dictionary of National Biography. Two autobiographical documents have now been found in the Westminster Cathedral Archives which answer several questions that had to be left open when the article was written. The forthcoming publication of these documents in *Recusant History* will show how an article in print and a chance discovery years later can explain and illuminate each other.

Among biographical subjects of special interest are the lives and careers of the English Martyrs. If we single out for mention one or two examples of martyr studies that have appeared in *Recusant History*, it is either because they exemplify the use of new and unfamiliar sources of evidence, or because they subject traditional accounts to fresh scrutiny and revaluation. Thus, Hugh Bowler has explored the intricacies of Exchequer procedure to throw new light on two little-known Yorkshire martyrs, Ven. John Talbot and Ven. John Bretton (Vol. 2, nos. 1, 2), while J. E. Bamber makes use of detailed local record sources to investigate the birthplace and date and place of execution of the Cumberland martyr, Ven. Christopher Robinson (Vol. 4, no. 1). The results of re-testing the existing accounts are illustrated by Dr. Ann Forster's article (Vol. 4, no. 5) proving that the missionary labours and martyrdom of Ven. William Southerne belong not to Staffordshire, as hitherto stated, but to Tyneside, and by an article (Vol. 2, no. 2) in which university and diocesan records are used to confirm and expand the brief account of Ven. Robert Sutton of Stafford written by a seventeenth century martyrologist.

Family history has a unique importance in the study of recusancy. At least until the beginning of the eighteenth century, throughout most of England the survival of Catholicism was dependent on those Catholic landed families able and willing to shelter a priest. Not until we know a great deal more than we do at present about the families in a given area, and can determine which among them were Catholic during what periods, and can identify the houses used regularly as Mass-centres, shall we understand the local organization of the Church, county by county. This aspect of church organization has been illustrated by such articles as those of Brigadier Trappes-Lomax on the Berkeley family in Worcestershire (Vol. 1, no. 1) and the Englefields in Berkshire (Vol. 1, no. 2). In addition, the massive articles by Hugh Aveling on the Yorkshire Fairfaxes—of which the first two appeared in Vol. 3, no. 2 and Vol. 4, no. 2, and a third follows in the present number—show how much light can be thrown on the everyday lives of Catholics and on their education, social and political attitudes, family connections and economic circumstances, by a detailed chronicle of a single Recusant family generation by generation in all its ramifications.

Since the principal sources for this kind of local history are to be found to a large extent in local archives, this is a branch of Recusant studies which should increasingly appeal to those who have an interest in the Catholic past of their own areas, and live within reach of county and diocesan record offices. In the last year or two several regional societies have been founded with the object of carrying out a thorough search for Recusant material among all types of local records. The fruits of this research for a single county are already being published in the *Essex Recusant*. If more and more material of this sort finds its way into print locally, *Recusant History* can increasingly devote itself to studies of wider range.

Should the local history of Recusant families and groups and of the local organization of missionary activities gradually be taken over by county Recusant societies, there would remain nevertheless a range of subjects which we consider mainly the concern of *Recusant History*. The fortunes of the English Catholics need to be studied not only at the local level but also where they are caught up in the general movement of the Counter-Reformation. The conflict of opinions about the nature and extent of the Pope's authority; the effects of foreign diplomacy on English Catholic affairs; efforts to achieve a *modus vivendi* with the government; the higher organization and direction of the Catholic missionary effort; these are some examples of general topics concerning which a host of particular detailed studies is needed. Some of these studies have already been written and a considerable body of important new material has by now been built up in these pages. For instance, W. K. L. Webb's "Thomas Preston, O.S.B., alias Roger Widdrington" (Vol. 2, no. 3) throws light on the controversy surrounding the Oath of Allegiance of 1606. Further aspects of the same controversy are dealt with at length by Gerard Sitwell in "Leander Jones's Mission to England, 1634-5" (Vol. 5, no. 4). T. A. Stroud has described, in "Father Thomas Wright—a Test Case for Toleration" (Vol. 1, no. 3), the single-handed attempts to achieve toleration for English Catholics made by a priest working in the circle of the Earl of Essex. In "English Catholics without a Bishop, 1655-1672" (Vol 4, no. 4), T. A. Birrell has detailed the efforts of the English Chapter to secure a bishop of its own choosing. Among further examples which we

could cite of articles on specific points which nevertheless have important bearings on general issues, are J. A. Bossy's "English Catholics and the French Marriage, 1577-81" (Vol. 5, no. 1), which is a study of the false hopes raised by the projected marriage between the Duc d'Alencon and Queen Elizabeth, and T. H. Clancy's investigation of the proposals for the eventual re-organization of the Catholic Church in England in his "Notes on Persons's *Memorial for the Reformation of England*" (Vol. 5, no. 1).

We feel that the principle that general historical studies must rely to a considerable degree on the findings of the specialist in his own field, justifies the emphasis we have placed on bibliography during the past decade. The books which circulated among the Recusants are important not only because their existence testifies to the courage and resourcefulness of generations of authors and printers in the face of enormous difficulties, but also because they must form a large part of our material for any systematic study of Catholic thought in England. A scholar working, let us say, on the attitude of English Catholics to the theory of the papal deposing power and its political consequences, needs to know what books were written for the use of English Catholics and at whose instigation they were printed. But because Catholic books in penal times had to be printed and distributed in secret, and copies are now often difficult to locate since so many were destroyed by the government, and because even when found such books frequently conceal the author's identity and the real place of printing, he can obtain reliable information only from someone who has made an extensive study of the bibliographical evidence. Information of this kind concerning one large group of Recusant books will be found in "A Catalogue of Catholic Books in English, printed abroad or secretly in England, 1558-1640" (Vol. 3, nos. 3, 4). This catalogue furnishes details about nearly a thousand books of which almost a third were previously unrecorded. It identifies for the first time hundreds of anonymous authors and translators, deals with the problems of undated books, and ascribes to their rightful presses the many books issued with false imprint or none. It was not possible, of course, in handling such a mass of facts within the compass of a moderate-sized and inexpensive catalogue, to quote the evidence justifying each statement.

But some of the evidence has already been published in *Recusant History* in bibliographical articles, for instance those on Franciscan books (Vol. 3, no. 1), Thomas Wright (Vol. 1, no. 4), Henry Garnet (Vol. 1, no. 1), and Thomas Everard (Vol. 2, no. 3). In the course of the next few years we hope to publish the rest of the evidence in two series, one dealing with that for authors and translators, the other with that for printers and presses. The first contribution to the former, a study of the evidence for attributing certain anonymous and pseudonymous books to the Carmelite priest Simon Stock in the early seventeenth century, will probably appear later this year.

As part of our plan to furnish specialist information on the contemporary printed literature of recusancy, we have begun the preparation of two further catalogues. One is of Catholic books, 1558-1640, by English writers (or by foreigners writing on English affairs) in all languages other than English. This will complement the catalogue of English books which we have already published. As it is the smaller in scope of the two catalogues, we hope to have it ready within the next year or two for publication as a single issue of *Recusant History*. The other is of Catholic books in English, 1641-1700. This is a much more ambitious undertaking and we cannot at present say when it is likely to be completed or how it will be published, but as a pledge of our intent Dr. Rogers is preparing for inclusion in the current volume of *Recusant History* an annotated list entitled "Catholic Books 1641-1700; a First Century of Additions and Corrections to Wing's *Short-Title Catalogue*."

There are wide fields as yet barely touched in *Recusant History* which await the attention of the historian. In the field of literature there has been an increasing awareness in recent years, brought about by the work of Mario Praz, Rosemary Freeman, Maria Hagedorn and Louis Martz, among others, that the literature and art of continental catholicism profoundly influenced the literature and art of sixteenth and seventeenth century England. It should be possible to make a more extensive study of this influence. For example, bibliographical research has now enabled us to survey all Recusant writings in English printed up to 1641. Knowing what these writings were, we can begin to examine to what extent they

formed a link between the continental Counter-Reformation and thought and art in England.

To the possible objection that *Recusant History* has concerned itself too exclusively with the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, to the neglect of the later period, we may answer by quoting from our editorial note published in 1958: "The emphasis on this early period is likely to remain for some time to come. The causes which determined the history of the Church—and of Catholicism generally—in England, from the late seventeenth century until well into the nineteenth, lay far back in the early period, in the relationship between the Church and the government on the one hand, and between rival factions within the Catholic body on the other." Indeed, the early period itself cannot be properly understood in isolation from the medieval era which preceded it. For example, the origins of Renaissance political theory must be sought centuries earlier; neither Bellarmine nor his opponents are intelligible without a reading of Aquinas. We can only say, to those who look in vain in these pages for eighteenth and nineteenth century studies, that (perhaps for the very reasons we have just given) very little work seems to have been done on those centuries of a kind suitable for *Recusant History*, and that we should welcome more.

In conclusion, we should like to comment on a matter of principle. In recent years, research has tended to undermine some of the historical judgments of our predecessors: the "Whig" view, the "Protestant" view, the "Nineteenth century" view on this question or that now seem to be no longer valid because they are incapable of explaining all the facts that have been brought to light. It is important that Catholics should avoid the temptation to substitute a "Catholic" view which may be equally defective. The Catholic historian must submit the view which, moved by feelings of loyalty to his Church, he would prefer to see vindicated, to the same objective scrutiny as every other, and if the facts warrant its rejection, he must reject it.

From the same principle it follows that, in writing of centuries during which the Catholic Church itself was torn by internal conflicts, the

historian must not allow any partisan loyalties to warp his faculty of judgment. The task, however distasteful, of describing these internal conflicts, is not one that he can shirk, since their consequences were so far-reaching. Nor can he merely describe, without formulating his own conclusions; but in coming to conclusions he must not make his facts fit preconceived theories. The treatment of topics which are of their nature controversial need not—and should not—be tendentious.

THE CATHOLIC RECUSANCY OF THE YORKSHIRE FAIRFAXES

By HUGH AVELING, O.S.B.

PART III.

[Part I appeared in Vol. 3, no. 2 ; Part II in Vol. 4, no. 2]

(K) CHARLES FAIRFAX, 6th VISCOUNT FAIRFAX OF EMLY

(1700-1715)

The new Lord Fairfax was a great-nephew of his predecessor. He had been brought up at Saxton by his mother, Lady Hungate, and his step-father, Sir Francis Hungate. In 1712 he was living at Gilling under the care of the chaplain, "Mr. Ord." In July 1715 he was convicted of recusancy at the Stokesley Quarter Sessions. On November 18th of that year, while the Jacobite Rising scare was at its height in Yorkshire, Lady Hungate's steward, Johnson, wrote to her that

'Lord Fairfax is now very ill with the gout at Mrs. Holforths. The deputy lieutenant has given him the liberty of the town.'

Mrs. Holdforth was a respectable York lodging-house keeper of Lop Lane, Little Blake Street. She was a Catholic and sometimes accommodated priests. It was at her house, apparently, that young Lord Fairfax died in December 1715.¹

(L) CHARLES FAIRFAX, 7TH VISCOUNT FAIRFAX OF EMLY

(1665-1719)

Lord Fairfax was his predecessor's uncle. He had been educated with his brother Nicholas at St. Gregory's School, Douai. After leaving school it is likely that he was the Charles Fairfax who was gazetted cornet in the Earl of Peterborough's Regiment of Horse in October 1688—one of the influx of Catholic officers weeded out of the army at the Revolution. The family property arrangements of 1699 gave him a very

small income and a farm at Coulton on the edge of the Gilling park wall, for which he paid rent. In August 1708 Anne Massam of Coulton—perhaps his servant—left all her belongings to ‘the worshipful Charles Fairfax Esq. of Gilling Castle.’

He did not live long to enjoy the estate. His will is dated November 13th 1719. He had not married and his legatees form a catalogue of the now rapidly narrowing Fairfax circle. He leaves £600 each to his nieces, Elizabeth and Mary Forcer and John Forcer is an executor. His half-sister, Mary Fairfax (Lady Carteret) receives £500, his niece, Lady Hungate’s daughter, Mary Fairfax, £100, Charles Widdrington £50 and a young bay gelding. The family circle is completed, as far as he is concerned, with another niece, Mrs. Mary Towneley and two cousins, Ursula Willoughby and Francis Cholmeley of Brandsby. He does not mention his heir and successor, William Fairfax of Lille. Outside the family circle come three Gilling chaplains, Mr. John Stourton (£40), Mr. Francis Tempest (£40), and Mr. Ralph Ord (£20), his personal servants, Leonard Holdforth and Charles May, the Rector of Gilling (£10 to buy mourning) and the poor (£20 at the Rector’s disposal).

Lord Fairfax’s last verbal dispositions are given in a note scribbled on November 19th—

‘My Lord ordered all his best wearing cloaths to be given to Mr. Charles May Except his fine linnen and Lace and two brocade waistcoats to Mr. Ord. Item that twenty pounds be given to the honble Peregrine Widdrington to buy mourning. Item that a ring an amethyst be given to Lady Widdrington. That what money exceeds . . (the funeral expenses) the executors do divide equally between his Lordships two Neace Forcers; that his best case of Pistolls and Holsters be given to the honble Charles Widdrington and that five pounds be given to Mr. Robinson. My Lords Damask Nightgown to the Landlady of Wass. My Lords Sword watch and Star Gelding to Mr. Ord.’

Fairfax was buried at Gilling on December 17th 1719.²

(M) WILLIAM FAIRFAX, 8th VISCOUNT FAIRFAX OF EMLY
(? -1738)

In the last twenty years the impressive array of a score of Fairfax heirs set out in the 1699 entail had melted away. The last but one heir, Charles Fairfax of York, had married three times and had a large family, but all of his children were dead by 1712 and he himself died in 1713. This left the last heir, his younger brother, William Fairfax of Lille, whose name had originally been put into the entail almost by accident. It is not surprising that the impoverished Denton Fairfaxes once more followed the fortunes of their Catholic cousins closely. On October 15th 1715, Henry Culpepper Fairfax wrote from Oriel College, Oxford to the 6th Baron Fairfax of Cameron at Leeds Castle in Kent—

‘Dear Brother,

I hear the Lord Fairfax of Gilling is very weak and if he dies, Walton and other Mannours will fall to you as next Protestant heir. I desire you when you write to let me know if this be true.’³

William Fairfax was living in France when he came into the title. To judge from his few letters which have survived, he had had a very slight education—or had lived so long abroad as to have forgotten polite English. According to the genealogist, Brooke, he was ‘an officer in the Imperial service’ in 1699. A search of the Vienna Kriegsarchiv seems to establish that he never held a regular commission in the Imperial Army. He had been so long abroad that even his brother Charles made a mistake about his eldest son’s Christian name in his will. For the past ten or fifteen years William had been drifting from garrison town to garrison town in Northern France, Lille, Arras, Dunkirk, Douai. His wife, ‘Elizabeth, daughter of Captain Gerrard,’ was dead by 1719. The Irish Peerage and one MS pedigree give her father as ‘Captain Gerard, son of Lord Gerard,’ but the recognised pedigrees of the Gerards of Bryn, Earls of Macclesfield and the Lords Gerard of Bromley contain no such person. On the other hand William gave his second son the name of Richard—a Gerard name and not a Fairfax one. The fact that the Fairfax papers contain no trace of contact with the Gerards is also no evidence either way, since the main Gerard families were extinct by 1719.⁴

Two of William's daughters had already married officers in the French Army. But he had not lost hope of returning to England. He had had his heir educated at Lambspring and there is evidence that he had been counting on his succession to the Gilling estate for some years. The marriage settlement of his daughter Antoinette, made at Arras in 1717 shows this, as does a chance remark of his cousin, Sir Edward Gascoigne, made in a letter written in 1747—

‘ Lord Farff: had a sure expectation of an Inheritance, was therefore certainly in the right but ought we to look on this precarious contingency of ours in the same light ? ’

The circumstances in which William was living in 1719 are illustrated by a letter written to him by his son Charles Gregory from Lambspring on January 21st 1720—a month after they had heard of their good fortune—

‘ Dear Father,

The reason I have not written to you so long a time is because I was unwilling to give you the trouble of knowing my misfortunes. Before my money came I had spent a great part of it. Afterwards I waited on fair promises of having an employment without money but when it came to the point much more was demanded than I was able to give. The circumstances of this matter would be too long to write. The Providence of God brought me here when my money was exhausted. Now hearing of the death of my Lord Fairfax, I do suppose my dear father will want money as well as I, therefore I would most willingly comply to anything I thought would be most to your satisfaction. Wee being the last that are in the Intail have power to make our circumstances easy. My Lord here (the Abbot of Lambspring) is so kind as to offer two hundred pounds which lies in his agents hands in London likewise one hundred pounds here which he will supply me with . . .⁵

The family history of the Fairfaxes for the period 1720-93 is abundantly documented in the Wombwell MSS. It is very clear that Lord Fairfax was both constitutionally incapable in money matters—as his

brother's bequest to him in 1713 had already suggested—and also overwhelmed by the sudden transition from a hand-to-mouth existence to relative wealth. He plunged into an orgy of spending in London, on coaches of the latest fashion, plate, jewellery and clothing. A crisis soon came. However, it may well be that the fecklessness of Johnson, the Hungates' agent, who had managed Gilling as well as Saxton for some years past, was a contributory cause. In 1720—before the first year was out—there was a summary "Account of our Debts."

'To the Lady Petre £100; to the Lady Stapylton £100; to Mr. Metcalfe ('Mr. Metcalfe chirurgion in Bromley St. Drury Lane,' a family friend) about £200; to Mrs. Boon £100; to Harley coach-maker £100; to Mr. Pigott (Nathaniel Pigott, the famous Catholic conveyancer, most likely for the cost of the General Recovery to break the entail) £85; to the periwig maker £24; to the tailor £28; to the milliner £52 . . . total £1121.3.0.'

This was after Fairfax had paid a debt of £435 to 'Mr. Henry Jerne-gan,' and was exclusive of £400 now owed to the Abbot of Lambspring and £1500 due to Fairfax's son-in-law, Lieutenant Peter Power. The consequence of this scare was that Fairfax's son Charles took over the entire control of money matters, paying his father a small allowance. The agent, Johnson, was removed and replaced by a cousin, Francis Cholmeley of Brandsby, assisted by another cousin, John Forcer of Durham and another 'cousin'—whose exact relationship to the family remains a mystery—Dom George Fairfax alias Robinson, agent in London for the Abbot of Lambspring.⁶

The new arrangement was, in itself, nothing unusual in Catholic families. Moreover it was sealed by a vast marriage settlement signed on November 16th 1720. Charles Gregory Fairfax was about to marry Elizabeth, Viscountess Dunbar. She was the eldest daughter of a Catholic peer, Hugh, 2nd Baron Clifford of Chudleigh. At the age of twenty-three she had married a notorious Catholic rake of sixty-four, William Constable, 4th Viscount Dunbar of Burton Constable, who had, according to the Scots Peerage, already two illegitimate sons. Dunbar had died in

1718. An Indenture Quinquupartite now set up an elaborate series of trusts. Viscountess Dunbar was to pay over her original marriage portion, £6000, to the Fairfax estate. Of this, £5000 was to form the marriage portion of Lady Hungate's daughter, Mary Fairfax and thereby to settle a charge laid on the Fairfax estate by the 5th Viscount. The remaining £1000, together with £300 a year taken from the £500 a year dower left to Lady Dunbar by her first husband was to go to a trust which was to hold the money and her town house in Conduit Street as a provision for her which her husband could not touch. He, however, was to have the remaining £200 a year of the dower. A further trust took over the Fairfax estates of which Charles became the life-tenant, subject to a mortgage to raise a small life income for Lord Fairfax and portions for his daughters. Lastly the outstanding debts were to be paid by selling £2000 worth of timber on the Gilling estate to chapmen. As was usual, one of the trustees at least was a Protestant relation, Martin Bladen, a former comptroller of the Mint and Undersecretary of State.

These financial arrangements do not really represent a narrow escape from ruin through a provident marriage. It was, indeed, by far the most provident marriage made by a Fairfax since the early sixteenth century. But the estate could easily have paid off the debts out of rents and mortgages over a course of years, especially if Charles Fairfax had been reasonably economical and had interested himself in agrarian 'improvements.' Constant borrowing of ready cash was not, in the early eighteenth century, a sign of bankruptcy in a landowner but common form. Rents invariably came in in arrears. Credit and instruments of credit were still in short supply. The Fairfaxes did not start to use a regular banker until the 1750's, when they resorted to the Catholic Wrights of Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, in company with most other Yorkshire Catholic gentry. Before the 1750's even bills on London were often hard to get in York, money had still sometimes to go to town in specie by carrier and private mortgages were common.⁷

The Yorkshire Catholic landowner borrowed his ready cash freely as he had done in previous centuries—that is, from his attorneys, from relations and neighbours, from Catholic York tradesmen and even from the savings of his own servants and tenants.

THE YORKSHIRE FAIRFAXES

Francis Cholmeley made it plain to Charles Fairfax that he disapproved of his expensive tastes and life in London. But he was willing to admit that the Dunbar marriage could only have come about through frequenting London society—

‘The happiness of . . (the) . . stay in town has brought upon the family advantages which quite take away the disadvantages.’

Charles and Viscountess Dunbar were married in London late in 1720. A series of letters to her from Cuthbert Constable, the new squire of Burton Constable, casts some light on her character. She was hot-tempered and imperious and spendthrift. The ‘South Sea Bubble’ quite overshadows the marriage in the letters and both she and Cuthbert speculated in it. So did the most respectable and sober of the Yorkshire Catholic gentry. She was, presumably, convent-bred (three of her sisters were nuns) and we find her busy about converting a tenant on the Burton estate and finding a place in a convent for a girl in whom she was interested.

In February, and again in April 1721 Charles and his wife were in Bath. There was an epidemic of small-pox and Elizabeth caught it in Bath on April 17th. The apothecary’s bill follows the crescendo of her ten days illness in the increasing severity of its nostrums. Blisters were applied ever higher and higher, succeeded by ‘cataclysms.’ On the day of her death, April 27th, the bill ends abruptly with ‘frankinsense 2d.’ She was buried in Bath Abbey. ‘Prayers’ were said in the Bath chapel at the funeral and on her anniversary ‘the persons that said prayers for Lady Dunbar in all the chapels were forty’—the traditional number of Masses. In Bath Chapel the anniversary was kept with an Office of the Dead recited by Dom John Cumberlege and four assistant priests.⁸

In May 1722 Charles married his distant cousin, Mary Fairfax, daughter of Lady Hungate and sister of the 6th Viscount. There was an Indenture Octopartite, including amongst the trustees Lady Hungate’s cousin, the Duke of Norfolk, and her brother Humphrey Weld and the inevitable Protestant friend, Sir William Foulis. The marriage jointure of Mary consisted of £800 from her mother and the £5000 portion owed to

her on her marriage by the Fairfax estate. Thus the estate's liability to her was neatly cancelled out.

Amongst the Fairfax papers is an odd bundle endorsed 'Papers relating to my afaire with Power and receipts for money laid out on his children.' The story revealed by this bundle is obscure in many details, but what is clear is odd enough. When Lord Fairfax's daughter Antoinette married Lieutenant Peter Power of the Irish Brigade in the French Service at Arras in 1717, her father had, on the strength of his expectations, contracted to pay her a portion of £1500 within two years after he came into the Fairfax estate. The money was still unpaid in 1725. Meanwhile Antoinette had died, leaving Power with two small sons. He began legal proceedings at Dunkirk against Lord Fairfax. Fairfax seems to have crossed to Dunkirk, where he was arrested and gaoled. He was soon released but had to endure long and expensive legal wrangles. Six months later Power himself was dead. His brother officers of the Irish Brigade took up the cause of the orphans with much zeal. Fairfax had now returned to England, leaving a person or persons called 'my cousin' and 'Mr. Robinson' to represent him. (This may be either or both of two persons—a Gilling upper servant, John Robinson and Dom George Placid Fairfax *alias* Robinson, who is always called 'cousin' by the family.) By the end of 1726 the Irish officers had lost interest, especially since they were being dunned in their barracks for money by the lodging-house keeper in whose care Power had left his children. Eventually, 'Mr. Robinson' provided an outfit for the orphans and brought them home to England. The whole affair cost Fairfax some £600 and endless anxiety. Bills continued to filter through from Dunkirk years afterwards. The children were added to the formidable list of grandchildren for whose education at Douai, Lamb-spring and the Bar Convent, York, Lord Fairfax paid.⁹

Lord Fairfax succeeded to the family connections of his predecessors. The Langdales and Widdringtons frequented Gilling as before. Lady Hungate was now the matriarch of the family and had her own rooms at Gilling. In 1715 she had taken a private vow to enter religion in the Benedictine convent at Cambray when she had safely married off her daughters, Mary Fairfax and Mary Hungate. The former was off her

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hands in 1722. But, in 1724, Saxton came to Sir Charles Carrington Hungate, the last baronet, who was unmarried and mentally unbalanced. Mary Hungate became the sole heiress of the Hungate family and the burden of administering its estates fell on Lady Hungate again. In 1726 Mary Hungate married Sir Edward Gascoigne of Parlington and at last the matriarch could fulfill her vow. But, by now, her health was uncertain. She left for Cambray but fell ill there, was dispensed from her vow and returned to England. She kept rooms at Gilling, but normally chose to live as a boarder in the Bar Convent at York.

The old Lord Fairfax figures very little in letters and accounts after 1726. By the 1730's he was senile. In 1738 a new arrangement was made by his son. His allowance was removed and, as long as he chose to live at Gilling he was to receive 'meat, drink, lodging, washing and wearing apparel.' Should he wish to depart, he is to have an allowance of £50 a year. But he died in the same year, leaving issue—¹⁰

1. CHARLES GREGORY FAIRFAX, 9TH VISCOUNT
(see (M) below.)

2. RICHARD FAIRFAX, dead before 1719.

3. MARY CHARLOTTE FAIRFAX, married before 1719 to John Francis Bredall, who is never afterwards mentioned as if he were living with his wife.¹¹ They had issue—

1. **Francis Bredall**, who was educated at Lambspring, most probably at Lord Fairfax's expense, and apprenticed to a York apothecary before 1736, when he was presented as a recusant living in the parish of St. Crux. During the Jacobite scare of 1745 he was licensed to travel away from York for a month. Later he married and settled as an apothecary in London. His business did not thrive. The 9th Lord Fairfax was a paying guest in his house occasionally—he patronised all his shopkeeper relations, Francis Bredall, Nathaniel Pigott the Drury Lane apothecary and a Cholmeley cousin who was a successful York milliner. Bredall tried to work up business amongst his aristocratic Catholic connections, performed London commissions for the family at Gilling, borrowed money ceaselessly from

Lord Fairfax and retailed to him all the Catholic gossip of the town. He seems to have been a kind of Uriah Heep and the Fairfax papers are sprinkled with his sickeningly servile, querulous and pious letters. Later in life he fell into grave financial difficulties and was rescued by an annuity from Anne Fairfax. He had issue—

- (i) Thomas Bredall, a black sheep, always in and out of gaol.
 - (ii) Charles Edward Bredall, a more hopeful child. He was educated at Hammersmith and then sent to St. Gregory's School, Douay, in 1769 at Lord Fairfax's expense.
 - (iii) Mary Bredall, perhaps educated at Hammersmith and then married to Edward Webbe, the son of a successful London Catholic undertaker. Their daughter Mary Webbe tried her vocation as a Franciscan lay-sister 1799-1800.
 - (iv) Elizabeth Bredall, a working sempstress in a London Catholic draper's shop and then sent to a convent at Lille.¹²
2. **Frances Bredall**, educated at the Bar at York at Lord Fairfax's expense 1730-1 and spent her holidays at Gilling. There is no reference to her after that date.

3. ? **Mary Bredall**. A Mary Bredall married Lambert du Vivier at the Portugese Embassy Chapel in London on June 17th 1736. There is some obscurity about her identity. Her son gave his mother's name as Mary Fairfax at Douai. She may therefore be Mary Charlotte Bredall married a second time. Unfortunately there is also mention at the same period of a 'Mary Bredall *alias* MacGilly Cuddy.' The du Viviers had issue—

James du Vivier, educated at St. Gregory's School, Douai at Lord Fairfax's expense round about 1755, professed as a Benedictine at Douai in 1757. He studied theology at the Sorbonne from St. Edmund's, Paris, and his printed theses for the baccalaureate were sent to Gilling. In 1768 he was back at Douai whence he paid a visit to Anne Fairfax at Cambray. In 1769 he wrote a polite letter of thanks to Lord Fairfax from Douai. After a short time on the English Mission in the Southern Province, he became Procurator for the

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Congregation in Rome in 1777 and remained in Italy until his death there in 1808. He was a friend of Prince Charles Edward and present at his death bed. He then was confessor to Charlotte Stuart, Duchess of Albany. After her death and during the troubled years of Napoleon's occupation of Italy and the suppression of Douai, he was a party to the operation which secured the Stuart Papers for the Prince Regent. In return he was given an English pension which he did not live long to enjoy. In Rome he was always known as 'the Abbé Waters' and supposed to be a relative of the celebrated Irish banking house of Waters in Paris. No one has ever yet proved this relationship.¹³

4. **Antoinette Fairfax**, who married Lieutenant Peter Power of the 1st Regiment of Lee's Brigade of the Irish in the French Service, at Arras in 1717. In the marriage settlement and in the legal proceedings of 1725 Power described himself as the son of 'Lord Power of Waterford.' This can only mean the distinguished Irish Jacobite soldier, John Power, de iure 9th Lord Power. Unfortunately there is no record other than Peter's statement that Lord Power ever had a son of that name. Antoinette died, probably at Arras on October 29th . . . (c. 1722-5) and her husband died some months before October 1725 leaving issue—

- (i) John Power, aged eight in September 1725, when he was lodging with his brother in the Pension Vairet at Arras and cared for by David FitzGerald, officer commanding Lee's Brigade. He was removed to Dunkirk by 'Mr. Robinson' and lodged in Charles Lynch's house there in 1726. Thence he was removed to England three months later. He was alive and receiving a pension from Lord Fairfax in the 1760's.
- (ii) William Power, aged six in 1725, shared his brother's travels and was apprenticed to a York surgeon by the 9th Lord Fairfax. He proceeded to run up large debts in York on Fairfax's credit and was packed off to Paris where his trail vanishes.¹⁴

5. **Anne Theresa Fairfax**, who married François d'Athenoux, Capitaine d'Infanterie, in a North French garrison town, most likely before 1719. They had issue—

- (i) Marcien d'Athenoux, later receiving a Gilling pension, part of his mother's marriage portion of £1500.
- (ii) Anne-Honorée d'Athenoux, who married Jean-Baptiste-Pancrace de Garçin in 1754. de Garçin belonged to a family of the petite noblesse of Avignon. In 1768 he brought his son to visit Anne Fairfax at Cambrai and then came on to England to visit Gilling, bringing with him a letter from his wife—

‘J'auais bien souhaité être du voyage mais ma santé est trop faible . . . Le Seigneur ne le veut pas sa sainte volonté soit faite . . .’

Lord Fairfax, as we shall see, was very suspicious of the religion and morals of the French, but he was very favourably impressed with the de Garçons. Madame de Garçin also received a Gilling pension. Her son, Esprit-François-Paul-Joseph, Chevalier de Garçin, born on May 18th 1755, was commissioned in the French Navy in March 1770. He kept up a steady correspondence with Gilling, even during the American War of Independence. The Fairfax papers contain one letter of his posted home in February 1779 from the West Indies on an English post-frigate by an acquaintance of the Fairfaxes, Captain Wilkinson of H.M.S. *Princess Royal*, who had met de Garçin under a flag of truce off St. Luise. de Garçin was a penniless emigré in London in 1793, living at 23 Marshall Street, Golden Square. Anne Fairfax sent him £50.¹⁵

6. **Alethea Fairfax**, who married Ralph Pigott, the second son of Nathaniel Pigott the Catholic conveyancer of Whitton, Middlesex, in 1723. Nathaniel, until his death in 1737, was conveyancer to most Yorkshire Catholic families. He did a good deal of the Fairfax's legal business and lent the 8th Lord Fairfax £2000 in 1722. The Pigott family were very solid Catholic professional people. Ralph was the only one of his many brothers who was not educated at St. Gregory's, Douai. Two of his brothers, Dom Edward and Dom Francis, were Douai Benedictines. He had a Jesuit uncle and a Poor Clare aunt at Gravelines. The Pigott household at Whitton was sufficiently lively to attract the poet Pope. Nathaniel was now establishing the family even more solidly by marrying Ralph to Alethea Fairfax and his daughter Catherine to Edward Caryll.

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The Fairfax-Pigott marriage settlement was signed in March 1723. It was characteristic of Charles Fairfax that only £500 of his sister's portion of £1500 was paid down and the rest not until 1752, long after Ralph Pigott's death. As for Nathaniel's loan of £2000, the bulk was not repaid until six years after his death. The young couple set up house outside Temple Bar. The house was Nathaniel's, made over for life to his son. Charles Fairfax, who then lived almost constantly in London, frequently stayed at Temple Bar as a paying guest and also patronised Ralph's bother Nathaniel's druggist shop at the corner of Brownlow Street.

Ralph was dead by 1731. His widow moved with her young family to Ormonde Street where her brother continued to stay with her on his now less and less frequent visits to town. By 1752 Alethea left England definitely and settled down in Brussels with her son, near to the English Benedictine convent where her daughters were professed. The last mention of her in the Fairfax papers is in 1757. She left issue—

- (i) Nathaniel Pigott, who was at school at St. Gregory's, Douai, in about 1737. He followed his mother to Brussels and married there Anne Mathurine de Beriol. In 1752 he was living at Isleworth, but, by 1774 had long been settled at Caen. He was a noted astronomer and Fellow of the Royal Society. We shall deal later with his efforts to secure the Fairfax estates for his younger son in 1775. He had issue—
 - (i) *Edward Pigott*, who was also an astronomer. He lived most of his life in France and appeared at Gilling in 1771 for a visit, in dress and manner quite a Frenchman.
 - (ii) *Charles Gregory Pigott (Fairfax)*, who succeeded to the Fairfax estates in 1793 and changed his name to Fairfax.
- (ii) *Rebecca Piggott*, who was professed as a nun at the English Benedictine convent at Brussels in 1741 and was later Abbess.
- (iii) *Catherine Pigott*, also professed there, in 1743.¹⁶

(N) CHARLES GREGORY FAIRFAX, 9TH AND LAST VISCOUNT FAIRFAX OF EMLY. (?-1772)

The last Lord Fairfax was almost certainly educated at Lambspring.¹⁷ His life was full of domestic anxieties and tragedies. As a young man, before 1719, he had been living in poverty abroad, vainly trying to get employment. The period from 1720 to 1722, of succession to the estate, was marred by the sudden death of his first wife and his father's troubles. 1722 to 1736 was perhaps the happiest part of his life. His second marriage, to all appearances, originally a *mariage de convenance*, turned out well and happily. He desperately wanted male heirs and now he had three sons and three daughters living. The family's fortunes seemed assured and he took to rebuilding Gilling Castle. But all this collapsed like a house of cards between 1736 and 1741. Two smallpox epidemics carried off his sons, his wife also died and financial troubles returned in a far more menacing form. From 1742 to 1760 he was occupied in trying to save the estates and to marry off his two surviving daughters—one of whom died in 1753. The last twelve years of his life were financially more easy, but he was now burdened with the care of his neurasthenic daughter Anne, his sole heiress, with his own poor health, and with the certainty that the family would come to an end and the estate and his daughter become, at his death, the prey of a host of impecunious and quarrelsome poor relations.

Up to the later 1750's he lived most of the year in London. At first he moved restlessly from lodging-house to lodging-house. Then he settled as a paying guest in the houses of his Bredall and Pigott relations. Finally, when his sister Alethea Pigott had left London for Brussels he leased a house in Kensington from 'Gerard Anne Edwards Esq.' To furnish the house, furniture was shipped from Gilling by Hull. Gilling servants were sent down in a batch by coach—including even a boy, who was put to school in London at Fairfax's expense. In the spring and summer the family went north to Gilling. Occasionally they took the waters at Harrogate or Knaresborough. But Fairfax, perhaps because of its unpleasant early associations for him, avoided Bath. When his ailing wife and daughter Elizabeth went there in 1740, they went alone.¹⁸

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The Fairfaxes had frequented York for centuries. In the middle ages and the sixteenth century they had a regular town house—probably on the Ouse Bridge. In the seventeenth century the Denton family had a large town house in Micklegate, but the Gilling family had sold all its York property and relied on lodgings or leased houses. In the 1750's Fairfax leased a house in Petergate. After 1760 he devoted himself to the care of Anne, built her a fine new house in Castlegate and ceased to winter in London.

He was always a townee. The traditional way of life of the Yorkshire Catholic gentry was defended strongly by Francis Cholmeley in 1722 and maintained even more strongly by Stephen Tempest of Broughton in his printed letter to his son of 1720. For them a landowner must strike a happy mean between a country and a town life, with the balance inclining heavily towards the former. He must avoid becoming a mere rustic, a farmer of his own lands. There is every reason why he should have a home farm, but otherwise he should live by rents. On the other hand he should not haunt London and its expenses. A house in York for the winter season and an occasional visit to town are quite enough. But this sober idea can never have satisfied the wealthier Catholic gentry. There were always Catholic rustics, like Edward Haggerston of Ellingham, with his vilely spelt and illiterate letters and his constant preoccupation with farm and hunt topics. But even they had often been educated abroad. Education at Douai, Dieulouard, Lambspring or St. Omer in itself might rarely implant intellectual ambitions. But the wealthier Catholics had always rounded off school with a Grand Tour, and now 'finishing schools' were appearing—at St. Edmund's, Paris, and in the academies in France and Northern Italy. There young men acquired liberal tastes in art and architecture, natural philosophy and mechanics, literature and politics. They returned to England with little desire to immerse themselves totally in estate management. There were degrees of absorption in the polite arts. Thus Cuthbert Constable seems to have lived at home. But he was passionately interested in the rebuilding of his house and especially in the problems of mechanics involved, for instance, in laying on a piped water supply. Then there was Sir Marmaduke Constable of Everingham, who became so absorbed in the life of polite society abroad that a visit

abroad for his health's sake was prolonged into half a lifetime's voluntary exile abroad in France and Italy. Yet, by post, he still controlled in minute detail his estate and kept abreast of local gossip fortnightly. Then a further extreme was Sir Edward Gascoigne of Parlington who lived for years in a house alongside the convent at Cambray with his wife and family, devoting himself to reading—physics, chemistry, mechanics, philosophy, political theory—leaving the oversight of the Parlington and Saxton estates to his agent and Lord Irwin.

Lord Fairfax was of this generation and type—with some differences. The lists of books he bought, though moderately long, reveal little of the intense intellectual curiosity of Sir Edward Gascoigne, his brother-in-law. Fairfax was interested in current affairs, politics and history, though it is likely that the five huge volumes of Chambers' Encyclopaedia of the Arts and Sciences which his chaplain, Fr. Anselm Bolton later brought away from Gilling had belonged to his patron. Fairfax could write and read French easily and bought a small number of current French works of literature, mostly memoirs, but including Rousseau. He never showed any desire to revisit the Continent. It is likely that his second wife visited Paris once, but, if she did so, he did not accompany her. Nor did he go to France with his daughter Anne in 1768.

He was passionately interested in building, in interior decoration, furniture and landscape gardening. But there is no evidence that he was the master-mind in the design of his building projects. Again, he was not entirely without interest in estate and agricultural matters. He took Edward Pigott to a village feast and spoke to the farmers of grain prices. He dined with Sterne to discuss turnpike matters. He was a patron of Hambleton and York races. But the family papers of his time seem to be empty of references to hunting and shooting and agricultural improvement. The latter meant to him merely the raising of rents.¹⁹

In London Fairfax moved mainly in Catholic circles. His closest friends were a Catholic merchant, Thomas Mannock, Mr. Metcalfe, a Catholic surgeon in Bromley Street, and the Bellasis family. He rode out to Whitton to visit the Pigotts and dined with the Petres, and Stapyltons,

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Dormers, Barnewells and Dillons, Lady Westmoreland, Sir Edward Smythe, the Hornyholds. His non-Catholic acquaintances in town do not seem to have been very numerous. All were relations or Yorkshire neighbours. The accounts of Lady Fairfax's visit to Bath show that she also moved in Catholic circles—Mr. Errington, Doctor Bostock, Doctor Jerningham, Mr. Odonory, Lord Molyneux, Bishop York, the Misses Langdale, Mrs. Pitt (a Bellasis, the Earl of Chatham's Catholic aunt). Her Protestant friends were few—the Mildmays and Mrs. Worsley.

Life in York brought them into contact with all Yorkshire society at race meetings, town houses and the Assembly Rooms (to the building of which Fairfax was a generous subscriber). The Fairfaxes of Denton had sold up in England by the 1750's and departed to Virginia, but Fairfax family solidarity still meant something. American Fairfaxes still visited Lord Fairfax in York and the Fairfaxes of Steeton (now of Newton Kyme) occasionally wrote or left cards. From York or Gilling the family made rounds of visits. The more extensive rounds covered the Vavasours at Hazelwood, Lord Irwin at Temple Newsam, the Lawsons at Brough. Immediately round Gilling there was a thick concentration of Catholic neighbours and relations, the Bellasises at Newbrough, the Widdringtons at Nunnington, the Cholmeleys at Brandsby, and, to the early 1750's, the Crathornes of Ness. Around them lay Protestant neighbours, the Duncombes at Helmsley, Mrs. Thompson at Oswaldkirk Hall, the Carlisles at Castle Howard, where one dined on occasion. Visitors to Gilling were much less frequent than in the two previous centuries and came usually for several weeks at a time—Lady Fairfax's Weld cousins from Lulworth, Sir Edward Gascoigne and his family from France, the Langdales from Houghton, Thomas Clifton of Lytham come to court Miss Fairfax, shoals of poor nephews and neices, and the Catholic family lawyer from London, Mr. Wilmot, who faced the coaches up the North Road with such trepidation that he much preferred not to come unless the business were very urgent.²⁰

Lord Fairfax took a keen outsider's interest in politics. He took five or six newspapers, bought the current *Debates of the Commons* and all the latest political squibs and pamphlets. A typical bill from Ward & Chandler, newsagents, for 1743 runs—

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' Feb. 8th.—Hanover List and Protest	1/-
Lords Protest	6d.
Feb. 11th.—Survey of 1742	1/-
Sandy's Budget	6d.
July 14th.—Debates 8th and 13th	8/6'

During the Seven Years War Fairfax bought large cloth-backed maps of all the principal theatres of war. His own political views can only be guessed. In 1745 the family had a strong Jacobite reputation in the county. In September 1745 Fairfax was bound in £100 to appear before the North Riding Justices at Hovingham to take the oath of allegiance. He appeared and refused the oath. On September 15th the Archbishop of York, Herring, wrote to the Secretary of State, Lord Hardwicke—

' Lord Falconbridge dined with me yesterday . . . He offered a sort of security for the honour and innocence of his relation and neighbour, Lord Fairfax of Gilling and intimated to lodge a deposition with me. I told him that was a matter of some nicety but whatever I saw in favour of Lord Fairfax, notwithstanding my good opinion of him, must rest upon his authority.'

In the last week of September rumours suddenly spread in York that Fairfax was about to rise in arms. The Rector of Gilling, Nicholas Gouge wrote to Lord Irwin, the Lord Lieutenant, on October 1st—

' Yesterday Lord Fairfax sent down his coachman (who is a Protestant) to me with compliments, and to acquaint me that one of our Town (his Lordship's tenant too, a most bigotted Papist) had given out that there was a private room within Gilling Castle where 40 men might be conceal'd and nobody cou'd find them out and his Lordship desir'd the person might be brought before me and punish'd as the Law directs: and further his Lordship desir'd that I would send the Constable . . . to search his castle whether there was any such room or not . . . (the searchers went there and) saw the place at the end of the Ale Cellar . . . not two yards square . . . The Lord's Coachman assured me that of late there had been no company excepting Mr. Cholmondly and his wife.'

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The Rector concluded that the alarmist had spread the tale to gain credit for himself. He confined himself to telling 'the two best Protestants' in the man's family that the matter had been reported to the authorities, and he himself published a refutation of the rumour in the York papers.

But another search party had been to Gilling, from York. Archbishop Herring wrote to Irwin on October 2nd—

'I believe Mr. Frankland and myself took the thing too high, but the recorder was frightened and the fright caught the city. Lord Fairfax found out the reason of the alarm, and, I am assured, was pleased with the opportunity of justifying himself. He treated Mr. Dunbar (who went with the search warrant) at dinner and drank King George's health.'

To Hardwicke Herring wrote that he was now convinced that Fairfax was the King's friend. He mentions incidentally that apparently only two Catholic great houses were searched from York—Gilling and Broughton. Presumably he did not know that the Lawsons at Brough had received a personal letter from Prince Charles Edward.

It is clear that Fairfax had no intention of putting his family and estate in danger, even when the advancing Jacobite army was within two days riding of Gilling. The example of the ruin of the Widdringtons was too close. What his own private opinion was is not so clear. There is in existence a Jacobite wine glass of 1730-40 with a crest, which seems to be that of Fairfax of Walton, engraved on it. His brother-in-law, Sir Edward Gascoigne, took good care to let the Government know his own views in much detail. In June 1744 he wrote from Cambray to Lord Irwin. Irwin was a close family friend. He watched over the Parlington and Saxton estates for Gascoigne, and Gascoigne bought wine, furniture and fabrics in Paris for Temple Newsam. Complaints against Gascoigne had apparently been lodged with the Duke of Newcastle. Gascoigne's friend, Mr. Southcott, had done his best to clear him with the Duke. Now Irwin is asked to see Newcastle—

'I must intreat you . . . least I shou'd be unhappy enough to have any Doubt still remaining in his Grace's mind about me, to assure

him yt upon the most solemn word of a Gentleman and of a Christian it never once enter'd into my Head to give directly or indirectly any the least occasion of Complaint . . I take Truth's sacred Self to witness yt has ever been the Sentiment of my Soul, as I belive it to be the common one of all our People yt we Rom: Catholicks are oblig'd to behave with all the duty and Allegiance of true Faithfull Subjects to his Majesty upon the Throne . . in the same manner as if we were admitted to take an Oath of so doing . . . I was from my Infancy taught to know I had nothing to do with Politicks; so that either by Custom or Constitution or both, such . . . is my indolence or Acquiescence in respect of Publick Affaires, yt were I in the way of it, I shou'd have no curiosity to enquire how they were carried on . . .'

In December 1745 Gascoigne wrote again, this time speaking of the Jacobite forces as 'these presumptuous Disturbers of the Publick peace . . . such Herds of Wild creatures . . . on the scamper . . . unworthy Tools (of the French).' He took care to log all his movements with a French notary. He comments that—

'We are treated with great Tenderness and Lenity by the Government.'

and, indeed, the treatment he received in 1746 underlined that. He lived by personal choice in France, though he professed to regard England as the true home of liberty. He travelled north from Cambray to the French headquarters, received a pass from de Saxe and crossed no-man's-land with a French 'drum' to the British lines. There, in Cumberland's camp, he was greeted with open arms, wine and dined by General Ligonier, Lord Crawford, General Howard and his own relative by marriage, Brigadier Douglas, was invited to see a skirmish after which he went on business to Aix and returned back under a flag of truce through the lines.

There is one indication of Lord Fairfax's political views later in life. In 1780 Burke came to Malton for his election and stayed with the Gilling agent who lived there. The agent wrote to Anne Fairfax, then in

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London, that he had presumed her permission to serve game from Gilling to Burke, since—

‘if I mistake not . . . you are of Mr. Burke’s way of thinking with regard to Politicks.’

It is certain that Anne could have had no political views that she had not acquired from her father.²¹

Fairfax had a passion for building and decorating. From the early 1730’s he began a considerable alteration and rebuilding of Gilling Castle, completely re-orientating it. The medieval keep was concealed by making its face the back of the house and putting on to its back-quarters a new plainly classical front with flanking wings. There is no sign that he employed an eminent architect. Vanbrugh, Wakefield and Gibbs have been suggested as the architects, but it is far more likely that the plans were taken from a book and that a clerk of the works and local contractors did the rest. A little-known Italian stuccoist, Cortese, then at work in Yorkshire, was employed on the interiors. By the 1760’s Gothic was coming into favour and Fairfax, who already had a classical temple-summer-house, added a second, Gothic, summer-house with battlements. There had been a deer-park, at least since the days of Sir Nicholas. Between 1740 and 1743 a licence was procured to move the main road away from the side of the castle and to turn part of it into a long front drive and avenue. The cutting of timber of the 1720’s opened the way to extensive landscape gardening.

The most striking thing about this building programme is its modesty. It was built over a period of twenty years and much of the material was second-hand. Rumour credited Fairfax with having ruined himself by his passion for building. The house in Castlegate, York, alone was reputed to have cost him £30,000. This was a gross exaggeration. But there is plenty of evidence that he was becoming increasingly financially embarrassed between 1740 and 1750. Between 1750 and 1756 he sold nearly two-thirds of his estates. Walton was sold to Lady Dawes in 1750 for £15,200, Scawton in 1751, West Heslerton to the Dawnays in 1754, Acaster and its

tithes and Coulton in 1756. His income from rents sank from some £2,100 to £750. The sales realised between forty and fifty thousand pounds. When he had paid off his debts and mortgages he had left a considerable lump sum—probably rather more than twenty thousand. He used the money for a variety of investments ranging from moneylending to commercial ventures. By far the largest of the latter was the sinking of no less than £10,945 in shares in the cargoes of the ship 'Amable Maria' operated by Ryan & Mannock of Cadiz between Cadiz and Lima. Fairfax also took up shares in Dormer & Fanning, assurance brokers in Antwerp, and in Thomas Mannock's wine importing business. There is also abundant evidence that Fairfax was steadily raising rents on his remaining estates between 1756 and 1772 and rounding them off by buying small parcels of land. At his death in 1772 his income from all sources was about £1600.

It is difficult to know what to make of all this. He began his control of the estate in debt. The Dunbar marriage and the sale of timber should have righted the balance—especially since Lady Dunbar's death did not end Fairfax's right to the £5000 from the Burton Constable estate. The Gilling building bills were spaced out over many years and should not have been too great a burden. The building of the Castlegate house to Carr's plans was not excessively expensive—though the site cost £2000. The truth is probably that he was overwhelmed by a combination of his own inability to economise, the shortage of ready money and the consequent living on money borrowed at high rates of interest and the steady drain of commitments to the family and dependents—£4,500 portions to his sisters, over £300 a year to pensioners, Lady Hungate, the Widdringtons, Langdales, Powers, Benjamin Mildmay. Also the family deaths of 1739-41 may well have removed his strongest inducement to save his estates.²²

His solid piety was evident all through his life. As a young man he was active in furthering the missionary plans of his chaplain, Fr. Rokeby. This led to complaints to the archbishop of York in 1729 and the summoning of Fairfax to Bishopthorpe. Rokeby had to leave England. Fairfax, in spite of the intervention of the Earl of Carlisle, was warned to be more

circumspect. In 1730 he was setting up a permanent chapel in Gilling castle in a room in one of the new front wings, with reservation of the Blessed Sacrament in a tabernacle and with an outside staircase entry for the local congregation. The liturgy must have been celebrated with some solemnity, to judge from the bills for incense, Paschal, Tenebrae and requiem candles. He had a chapel in each of his houses—even in the leased Petergate house in York—fitted out down to a thurible. There were confirmations at Gilling in August 1687 (Bishop Leyburn—412 confirmed), 1728 (Bishop Williams—two confirmations, 30 and 12), 1753 (57 confirmed), 1775 (Bishop Walton, no figures given), 1780 (60), and 1785 (Bishop Gibson—3 confirmed and 30 communicants).

In 1735 the Rector of Gilling complained of the influence of 'a noble Lord' in his parish and district. Again, in 1765, Fairfax's name comes in a list of Catholic gentry to be interviewed and warned by the archbishop of York. The Anglican authorities attempted to keep a close curb on Catholicism in the diocese of York throughout the eighteenth century. Special archiepiscopal visitations for this purpose were held in 1706, 1729, 1733, 1735, 1743, 1767 and 1780. No attempt was made to prosecute priests or laity simply for practising their religion. But if there were signs of conversions or notable increase in numbers and activity, measures were taken. This usually consisted in interviewing the patrons and securing the removal of active priests. There seems to be little doubt that Catholicism was far from declining in the eighteenth century North Riding. Such evidence as we have shows that a slow decrease on country missions—due to the usually natural extinction of old families and perhaps to enclosures—was more than offset by an increase in the towns. The Anglican authorities were themselves studying their statistics anxiously. In 1767 the archbishop found that they showed, for the whole diocese, an increase of 115% since 1706. He corrected this, by calculations based on the inaccuracies of the statistical methods used by his predecessors, to 33½% and thought that this did no more than keep Catholics in line with the natural increase of the whole population.²³

Fairfax himself, in the 1760's, definitely believed that Catholics were a dying race. In his case the judgment was affected by his own natural

pessimism and by his personal experience of the steady extinction of old Catholic families by natural causes or apostasy. He wrote to a French correspondent—

‘Nous avons du peu qui nous restent (en Angleterre) qui quoique les Loix soient sévères parmy nous payer doubles impôts et avoir toutes les Loix contre nous, vivent encore d’une manière si scandaleuse que les Protestants mêmes disent que nos jeunes gens sont Libertins sont pires que les leurs, ne suivent aucun devoir de religion années par années.’²⁴

He must have been affected by the apostasy in about 1737 of his close friend, Lord Fauconberg. Fauconberg’s wife and daughters remained Catholics and the friendship and intercourse between the two families was not broken. As we shall see, Fairfax’s ward, Sir Thomas Gascoigne also apostatised. Sir Edward Gascoigne shared Fairfax’s opinion. In 1748 he wrote—

‘... the English Roman Catholicks, whose circumstances in general must, from the nature of their situation, necessarily be upon the decline.’

The context of this remark was an economic one. Sir Edward thought that the combination of natural extinction of old landed families, double land tax and lack of income from offices must inevitably ruin the Catholic gentry—and, so he thought, therefore the whole Catholic community. He was right, as far as the gentry were concerned.²⁵

Fairfax was a man of deep feelings and affections. He was very devoted to his second wife and passionately attached to his children. He could rouse affection in others outside the family—as Lady Westmoreland, in 1734—

‘I am sorry we do not here Mrs. Fairfax is with child. I know he desiers children very much god send she have any he is so good a man I wish him what he likes best . . .’

To Lady Mary Bellasis Fairfax was her ‘Old Love.’ His affections were always closely connected with his religion. To his ward, Sir Thomas

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Gascoigne, then in Paris being 'finished' at St. Edmund's, he could write—

'I am overjoy'd to have a letter from you since you have been in Paris. I thought you had quite forgott me . . . I hope Providence will Bless you . . . and give you eternal Happyness in the next that he will give you Grace to come to that happyness he has created us for . . .'

To his neurotic daughter Anne, whom he had sent to Cambray, rather than directly to the German spas, deeming prayer more use to her than medicine, he wrote in 1768—

'You are the only comfort I have in this world, but (we) are not to expect our will, but his Holy to be done in all things and hope he will give us Grace of true resignation in all that he has pleased to send us, if we doe we may hope thro' his Mercys to enjoye that happynesse in the next he has prepared for us . . . for God sake resign yourself to his Holy will, consider how many suffer much more . . . that wheen we find the (sic) come upon you throw yourself at the feet of the Cross . . . we are not come into this world to have ours, but to follow and bear his Crosse . . .'

He was, as Lady Mary Bellasis put it, 'Germanic.' He was obstinate and scrupulous. This, for all his extravagance, was painfully true in business matters. He was involved in a series of difficult legal affairs. Before he came into the title he had to deal with the trusteeship of the remainder of the Widdringtons' property and with a troublesome and embarrassing law-suit brought against him by his 'cousin,' Dom George Robinson alias Fairfax. Robinson claimed sums of money as the unpaid remainder of the Abbot of Lambspring's loan to the Fairfaxes, but due to himself personally. The family's intimate affairs and even the finances of Lambspring were dragged through the Court of Chancery . . . This naturally led to a severing of all connections with Robinson. Then came the trusteeship of the Langdale estates, followed hot-foot by the Hungate trusteeship, which involved another Chancery suit. The years 1749-54 produced, alongside his own domestic tragedies and financial troubles, further immersion in

others' affairs. A cousin, Peregrine Widdrington, in 1733 had contracted some sort of alliance with Mary, the heiress of Sir Nicholas Sherburne of Stonyhurst and widow of the 8th Duke of Norfolk—herself a first cousin of Lady Hungate. 'The Duchess' was very wealthy, childless and notoriously difficult. Between 1735 and 1742 she had a set of rooms alongside Lady Hungate's at the Bar Convent. In 1749 she made a will which left Sir Edward Gascoigne her heir, provided that Mr. Weld died without heirs male. She made Stephen Tempest one executor and, it seems, proposed to make Fairfax the other. He seems to have refused hastily. To Gascoigne he wrote on April 22nd 1749—

'I had a letter from the great Duchess our cosen, if I dare call her so. I may venture to say I shall never have another.'²⁷

That same year Lady Hungate and Peregrine Widdrington died, and, on May 23rd 1750, so did Sir Edward Gascoigne, unexpectedly, at Cambray. At once a pile of business fell on Fairfax's shrinking shoulders. Although he tried desperately to avoid it, he had to become Sir Edward's executor and co-guardian with Lord Irwin, Stephen Tempest and Gerard Strickland of Sizergh of his two sons, Sir Edward and Thomas Gascoigne. The executors met twice at Parlington in June 1750 and Fairfax visited Temple Newsam. For some years all went well. Strickland married the widowed Lady Gascoigne and so became Fairfax's brother-in-law. The boys were put to school at Douay. Fairfax took very scrupulously and was all alarm at every rumour. In 1758 he had to be reassured by the Prior of St. Edmund's, Paris, that Sir Edward's visiting Cambray, giving a ball for the schoolgirls there and dancing with Miss Berington was not a preliminary to a runaway marriage. In January 1762 Sir Edward suddenly died of small-pox at the age of nineteen. The guardians were soon plunged into an orgy of letter writing which culminated in a quarrel amongst them and a law-suit in Chancery. There were two issues. The first concerned Pere Guerin, ex-professor of the College Mazarine, who had been employed to coach first Sir Edward and then Sir Thomas in natural philosophy at Paris. Cousin Weld came to stay at Gilling in 1763 and passed on to Fairfax a rumour that Guerin was 'A Bad man and a Rank Jansenist.' This, after much agitated correspondence, was proved to be utterly untrue. But Fairfax was not relieved. Dame Helen Gascoigne at Cambray, the

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Prior of St. Edmund's and the Douai schoolmasters had all found Sir Thomas wayward. It was at this point that Fairfax poured out in the letter already quoted above, to the forgiven Guerin, his own gloomy estimate of contemporary Catholic youth. There was bound to be trouble with Sir Thomas sooner or later. It was only a matter of a choice of evils—whether to leave him in the temptations of Paris and Italy or send him back to revolt from the strait discipline of Douai.

The second issue concerned the Gascoigne estate—now swelled by inheritance of the Hungate and Hammond lands. Fairfax proposed to pay off a mortgage on the estate by selling the Parlington timber for £2850 to one Fretwell, a Catholic recommended by Stephen Tempest. Fretwell took the timber, paid £1000 and then went bankrupt. Fairfax was agonised by the thought that he would be held liable for the deficit. On the advice of his attorney, Wilmot and counsel, he determined to put a bill into Chancery to get a quittance for himself and be rid of the executorship. He was in poor health at the time and terrified of dying and leaving his daughter in financial trouble. Forthwith Tempest, Strickland and Sir Thomas protested violently that his action might well make Sir Thomas a ward in Chancery and liable to be sent to an English University and be given Protestant tutors, while the production of the Parlington accounts in court would reveal the name of the Parlington chaplains. After much fire and fury Fairfax compromised and stopped short the proceedings at a presentation of his own accounts in Chancery. In fact Sir Thomas fulfilled his prognostication. After a stay at the Turin Academy and a visit to Rome, where he was involved in a brawl, he returned to England and apostatised.²⁸

Lord Fairfax also had difficulties of another kind—with the English Benedictines; his social position involved him in numerous financial dealings with ecclesiastical bodies. Abigail, Lady Fairfax had been a generous benefactor of the secular clergy. There seems to be no evidence available of benefactions by the 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th Lords Fairfax to other than individual chaplains. They kept chaplains at Gilling and, for a period, Walton, giving them keep in the house and some £10 a year. The Benedictine superiors were anxious that their missions should have

some more assured and independent financial basis in each place than one dependent on the goodwill of a series of landowners. The gradual accumulation of the endowments of the York Province of the Congregation in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries often made this possible. But this, in its turn, made a further problem—where the funds were to be lodged. The original method was to deposit them in the hands of the Catholic gentry, who paid interest at rates varying between 4% and 6%. At the same time the gentry were also holding the funds of English religious houses abroad. However this method again left the Benedictines dependent on the goodwill of the gentry and the chances of family history. In the first decades of the eighteenth century an experiment was made of depositing funds in East India Bonds and in French investments. The French financial crash of 1720-1 brought disaster. After a reversion to the old method, in 1756 money was moved into English stocks, in the names of trustees.

In the 1680's Charles Fairfax of York made several *ex caritate* gifts to the Northern Benedictine Provinces. Between 1685 and 1713 various members of the family and relations contributed sums to form endowments for the missions at Gilling and Saxton. It was in no way an act by the head of the family. Mrs. Apollonia Yate, Abigail, Lady Fairfax, Mrs. Eleanor May (a Gilling servant), Mr. and Mrs. William Liptrot (Fairfax tenants at Scawton), Mrs. Bellwood of Stearsby and Catholics of Helmsley contributed some £300 to help maintain a priest for the Gilling, Helmsley, Scawton neighbourhood. This was so independent of Lord Fairfax, that a priest seems to have been maintained for a short period by the Liptrots at Scawton apart from the Gilling chaplain. But, by 1713 the money had passed to the upkeep of the Gilling chaplain. A second fund was created by Mary, wife of John Fairfax, Colonel William Hungate, Doctor Hungate and Gervase Hammond, to keep a priest in the Saxton-Scarthingwell district. It was unfortunate that neither fund was large enough to maintain a priest without Lord Fairfax's help. In any case, the French financial disaster of 1720 swept away nearly all of both funds and the missions were again reduced to dependence on patrons.

Meanwhile the last Lord Fairfax had departed from the practice of his predecessors by beginning to hold ecclesiastical funds and pay interest.

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This began with the £400 loan from Lambspring. In 1730 he also took up £200, the dowries of nuns at the Bar Convent. In 1737 he took over £600 of the Benedictine Northern Province funds, originally held by Mr. Meynell of North Kilvington and Sir Edward Gascoigne. In 1740 he took up £200 of Cambray's funds and in 1745 another £200 of Benedictine funds—payable in annuities to monks on the mission. He therefore became not only the sole support of the Gilling mission, but the principal fund-holder of the Northern Benedictines. But now he was himself running into money difficulties and his payments of interest in the 1750's slid more and more into arrears. By then he had already had two brushes with the Benedictine superiors. The first was in 1725-9 over his calm ejection of a Benedictine chaplain at Gilling to replace him by Fr. Joseph Rokeby who was at odds with his superiors. The second was over his law-suit with Fr. George Robinson alias Fairfax over Lambspring funds.²⁹

In August 1747 Fairfax suggested to the Benedictine Provincial that it was his job to provide for the Gilling chaplain, because the Province was responsible for the loss of the independent Gilling fund. At one point in the negotiations Fairfax contemplated making a substantial donation, which, with £100 from the Province, could form an endowment for the Gilling mission. This fell through. In the end the Provincial gave £50, which, with the £50 which was all that remained of the original independent fund, was enough to provide £6 a year for the chaplain. This still left the chaplain dependent directly on Lord Fairfax. Of all the Benedictine missions in the Northern Province, Gilling was the one with the least satisfactory financial basis.

Fairfax was also determined to retire from his position as chief Northern Province fund-holder. Between 1752 and 1756 he succeeded in paying back the capital and arrears of interest of all the various funds he held. He even made over to the Provincial a charity fund of £50 left by Mrs. Yate for doles to the poor of Gilling and so laid the duty on the chaplain.

All of this coincided with increasing trouble between Lord Fairfax and his chaplains. Between 1750 and 1764 he demanded from their superiors the summary removal of at least seven chaplains. Many chap-

lains and temporary supplies came and went. This led finally to an exchange of letters with the Benedictine superiors, Naylor at Brindle and Howard in London. Unfortunately we only have the superiors' letters and not Fairfax's. The superiors complained that, in every case, the fault alleged was, at most, one of imprudence, and that the monks dismissed were satisfactory on other missions. Fairfax's general grievance was that he was repeatedly sent young priests straight out of their monasteries, who had neither the steadiness nor savoir-faire of old and experienced missionaries. In 1764 he actually asked for a monk who was then Prior of Douai. Although Fairfax had a record of independent-minded choice of chaplains regardless of superiors, and, as we shall see shortly, expected his chaplains to follow him wherever he went, there was probably something in his criticisms. The records of the Congregation for the eighteenth century show constant internal criticism of a growing practice of sending monks out on the mission too soon and inadequately prepared. A short time after Fairfax's complaint the Congregation drew up a scheme of studies which took full account of this.

The negotiations broke off. Fairfax applied to the Jesuits and received as chaplain Fr. Peter Jenkins, S.J., who stayed at Gilling for two years. Long before the end of that time Fairfax was making overtures to the Benedictine superiors. There is a significant entry in the Provincial accounts dated June 6th 1763—

'Recd. from Lord Fairfax a gift to me and to the Province £21.'
In 1764 a Benedictine chaplain returned—a young missionary. But one letter from Fr. Peter Jenkins survives, which casts light on the reasons for his removal and on what is surely one of the basic reasons for Fairfax's difficulties with chaplains—

(From Fr. Jenkins at Gilling to Lord Fairfax, in London. No date.)

'Holdens wife expressing great concern and apprehension lest her son should die, as her daughter did, without help, I thought it proper to acquaint your Lordship that I would stay at Gilling with your leave, till he is out of danger. Mrs. Mitchell never had the Small pox so the gentleman with her can't come and Mr. Barrow, as I hear, being gone this morning to Scarborough, the young man

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may die without assistance unless I stay to attend him. I am desired likewise to go to Rivies Abbey and to one of ours who wants to see me at Hambleton (a servant who came last Martine Mass) also one at Stillington and two or three at Cowten, so that, upon the whole, I think, if I may be allowed to give advice, that 'twould be better for yr Lordship to miss Prayers now and then on a Sunday rather than deprive . . . many poor people of the assistance they seem gladly to stand in need of. Hoping your Lordship will excuse the freedom I take in delivering my Opinion, I remain

Your Lordship's Humble & Obedient servant

Pet: Jenkins.

My respects to Miss.³⁰

The fact that Fairfax had fully fitted out chapels in all his houses in York and London—where there were then public chapels—adds point to this letter.

From 1764 Fr. Anselm Bolton was chaplain, watched anxiously by his superiors. But he became a family friend and adviser, winning Fairfax's complete trust.

In his last days, Lord Fairfax was consumed with anxiety about his daughter's future. He made a will, hesitated and died leaving directions to Fr. Anselm that he should destroy it. He was buried at Gilling on January 27th 1772.³¹ He had had issue—

1. MARY FAIRFAX, apparently the eldest child and born well before 1725. She was educated at the Bar Convent from at least March 1731 to September 1735, under the eye of her grandmother, Lady Hungate. She died, almost certainly at school at York, on May 25th and was buried at Gilling on May 27th, 1736.

2. ANNE FAIRFAX, who was educated at the Bar from at least 1733 to 1736 and possibly also at Cambray.³² In 1749 a match was proposed

between a daughter of Fairfax's—very likely Anne— and a suitor who was almost certainly Thomas Clifton of Lytham, Lancashire. Her father broke the matter off. He wrote to Sir Edward Gascoigne from York on April 22nd 1749—

‘I would not omit to let my dear Bart. know immediately that I have had the great Esq. of Lytham a week at Gilling. I am glad I know him. I can but say that if I had not seen him before it was at an end it might have give one now and then some uneasiness thinking I had been to hasty, and I have the satisfaction that your God daughter is now more chearfull than ever I knew altho I have said nothing to her, by which as Mrs. Forcer tells me, she does not doubt it is at an end. I bless God for her perseverance as I think there could not have been much happyness for her to have been expected . . .’

A year later Clifton married Catherine Eyre.³³ But a much more serious disappointment came in 1755. Anne became engaged to William Constable of Burton Constable. This was to have been the third inter-marriage between the two families and it would have meant the absorption of the Fairfax estates into the far larger Constable properties. Later, in the next generation, as usually happened in such cases, a younger son of the marriage would have changed his name to Fairfax and have resumed the estates.

The trousseau was bought in London. A special licence was procured in May 1755 and both families converged on London for the wedding in mid-June. The sequence of events which led to a last-moment breaking off of the engagement can be roughly reconstructed from two letters from Lord Fairfax to Constable which were kept by the latter, together with the special licence. Fairfax, as we have seen, was suspicious of the faith of the younger generation of English Catholics. From early in the affair Constable had had to give verbal assurances that he would go to the Sacraments and practise his religion faithfully. But suspicion of him in the minds of Fairfax and his daughter remained, although, according to Fairfax, they breathed no word to others. Not long before the date of the marriage, in a letter to Anne, Constable happened to mention that he

had only been to 'prayers on two working days.' This seems to mean that he hardly ever went to Mass on weekdays. Fairfax at once began to wonder whether this meant that his attendance at Mass on days of obligation was irregular. He considered it his duty to mention his doubts to his daughter. She at once wrote to her fiance to demand in writing a solemn promise that he would practise his religion. When no satisfactory answer came, Fairfax weighed in with a short and highly emotional note. Anne returned her ring to her fiance and, after last-minute and bungled efforts to see Constable, Fairfax took her home to Gilling. From Gilling, on June 22nd Fairfax wrote to Constable in Pall Mall a long, misspelt and curious letter. It witnesses to the affectionate terms which had existed between the two men—Fairfax apologises for not having 'imbraced' Constable at their last meeting. The letter nowhere openly accuses Constable of laxity, but attributes the breakdown to a combination of human frailties and accidents on the part of all three parties. It ends with a protestation—

'As to my self, my Dearest Sir, be assured I shall allwayes declare to all that no Parson has acted with truer and greater honour than you have done, that I allwayes knew you had that principle, and I found in this Transactions a Gentleman of the Strictes honour and capacity, and shall justifie you on all occasions . . .'

According to an anonymous nineteenth century note on the folder enclosing Fairfax's two letters, Constable 'was soured in early life by the miscarriage of his marriage to Lord Fairfax's daughter.' Certainly Constable's letters to his mother between 1755 and 1761, often from France, are full of intemperate anticlericalism. In 1775 he married a Langdale. By the 1780's, if not before, to judge from a 'Declaration of Faith' amongst his papers, he was practically a Deist and he seems to have refused to see a priest on his death-bed.

Anne Fairfax also had her troubles. The first reference to her acute nervous disorders appears in 1763 in a series of letters, written by her friend, Lady Mary Bellasis, from the Fairfax house in Castlegate, York, to her father Lord Fauconberg. In 1768 Fairfax packed off his daughter to the Continent, under the care of the Gilling chaplain, Fr. Anselm Bolton. She went through a kind of retreat at Cambray, living in the guesthouse

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in Lady Barbara Radcliffe's rooms. From there an anguished correspondence passed between her and her father. She was subject to fits of acute depression and expected no more happiness on earth. She showed her father's letters to Bolton and commented to her father that he was moved to tears. After a few months she tired of the company at Cambray, hired a French footman as her father instructed her (as befitting her rank) and moved on by Valenciennes and Mons to Brussels, to stay at the English Benedictine convent with 'Mrs. Mannock and the two Miss Pigotts.' There neither prayer nor the 'Spaw' waters seemed to relieve her and she soon returned home.³⁴

When her father died in 1772, leaving her to the care of Fr. Anselm, and himself deliberately making no provision for the eventual disposition of the estate, it must have been an open question whether she could ever re-enter society and do business of any kind. In 1774 Nathaniel Pigott and his Belgian wife settled at Gilling and there began a long and heated struggle over Anne and the estate. The affair must have been a Catholic cause celebre of the day. To the Pigotts it was a straight case of clerical scheming to secure the Fairfax estate. The Fairfax papers abound in the legal papers of the case, which have yet to be disentangled. In outline the course of events was simple. Anne was prevailed upon to sign a deed which ostensibly made over to the Pigotts the control of her affairs. Fr. Anselm and his lawyer relative, Thomas Bolton, challenged this and brought a Chancery case. The outcome was a private Act of Parliament annulling the deed as obtained by undue pressure, and a new agreement, whereby the Pigotts obtained pensions and the assured succession, while the estate and Anne passed into the control of a trust headed by Earl Fauconberg. Fr. Anselm remained chaplain and general manager of Anne's household affairs, the estate being supervised by the trustees.

Anne died on May 8th, 1793. Before her death she had established Fr. Anselm in a house across the valley from Gilling. She made numbers of bequests to Catholic institutions, which were challenged by her relatives. In the end, by 1799, £100 was paid to the Benedictine Northern Province, while £500 and her trousseau went to the Cambray nuns.³⁵

3. ELIZABETH FAIRFAX, buried at Gilling on October 5th 1725.

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4. ELIZABETH FAIRFAX, born after 1735 and educated at the Bar. She was a delicate child and was buried at Gilling on June 29th 1753.
5. . . . a child, buried at Gilling on December 31st 1728.
6. JOSEPH FAIRFAX, buried at Gilling on March 14th 1729.
7. CHARLES FAIRFAX, who possibly had Cuthbert Constable as his godfather. Buried at Gilling on May 28th 1736, a day after his sister Mary.
8. CHARLES FAIRFAX, who died in York and was buried at Gilling on April 3rd 1739.
9. NICHOLAS FAIRFAX, died in York and buried at Gilling on April 29th 1739.³⁶

The main line of the Fairfaxes thus ended in 1793. But the family, the name and the arms remained at Gilling until 1895, in the Pigotts (descendants of Alethea Fairfax) 1793-1885 and the Fairfax-Cholmeleys (relations of the Pigotts and the original Fairfaxes) 1885-95. There is no very strong reason why an account of the recusancy of the Fairfaxes should end with Anne Fairfax. After all, very many other Catholic landed families have descended through the female line, with an assumption of the original name and arms by a cousin or nephew—sometimes this process has been repeated more than once. In other ways, although 1793 was a break in the continuity of some things at Gilling, much else continued. There was a sale of Lord Fairfax's library in 1793 but otherwise the castle remained as he left it, and the redecorations of the 1840's merely completed his schemes. The chaplaincy at Gilling ceased in 1793, but was transferred across the valley to Ampleforth and resumed at Gilling between 1873 and 1885. The family remained mainly a part of Yorkshire Catholicism—the religious vagaries of the Pigotts were in no way uncharacteristic of English Catholic life.³⁷

(O) CHARLES GREGORY (PIGOTT) FAIRFAX (?-1845)

He was the younger son of Nathaniel Pigott and the great-nephew of the last Lord Fairfax. On succeeding to Gilling he changed his name to

Fairfax. The cutting out from the succession of his elder brother, the astronomer Edward Pigott, was the result of a lengthy family quarrel in the 1780's. In 1794 he married a Protestant, Mary, daughter of Sir Henry Goodricke of Ribston. He acquiesced in the baptism and bringing up of his children as Anglicans. Nevertheless he returned to the practice of his religion by at least 1831. Towards the end of his life he retired to Leyburn to live with the priest in the presbytery there. He died, some months after his wife, in December 1845, leaving issue—

1. MARY ANNE FAIRFAX, born in 1795, died aged fourteen.
2. CHARLES GREGORY FAIRFAX, born 1796. He, like his brother and sisters, mixed freely in Catholic society and travelled on the Continent with the Maxwell Constables. In 1837 he was married by a French priest to a Catholic, Mary Anne (Tasburgh) of Burghwallis. She died in 1861 leaving no issue. In spite of many persuasions he never became a Catholic and died in 1871.
3. THOMAS FAIRFAX, born in 1800, died unmarried, an Anglican, in 1828.
4. LAVINIA FAIRFAX, born in 1802 and married the Rector of Gilling, the Rev. Alexander Barnes. She was received into the Church in 1864 or 1865, by Manning. She came into the Gilling estate in 1871 and re-established the chapel and chaplaincy. She died in 1885.
5. HARRIET FAIRFAX, born in 1804, was received into the Church in 1831. She married a Catholic, Francis Cholmeley of Brandsby, in 1838. She was the legatee of her uncle, Edward Pigott. She died in Genoa, leaving her money to Catholic charities. The Gilling estate passed through her to another Catholic, her husband's brother, Capt. Thomas Cholmeley, R.N., who changed his name to Fairfax-Cholmeley. His son sold Gilling in 1895. It passed through several hands before being bought by the Ampleforth community in 1930.

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NOTES

Extra abbreviations:—

Bev.MS	MSS at the East Riding County Record Office, Beverley
B.C.MS	Constable of Burton Constable MSS, now at the East Riding County Record Office.
Lawson MS	Lawson MSS at Brough Hall, Catterick.
St.MS	Stapleton of Carlton MSS at Carlton Towers, Goole

1. W.MS 5/5 (Ord's accounts) ; N.R.R.O. Quarter Sess.; W.MS 5/7(5)—steward's letter ; Test. Ebor. admin. of goods of Charles, Viscount Fairfax by his mother, Lady Hungate Dec. 5th 1715 ; Ushaw MS i/5—1737 letter from Challenor to a priest at Mrs. Holford's.
2. *List of Boys at St. Gregory's, Douai* ; C. Dalton. *English Army Lists* ii/182 ; W.MS 3/14 and 5/2(13)—estate accounts and Anne Massam's will ; he registered his estates as a Papist in 1717—N.R.R.O. Papists' Estates, and Y.C.A. E/62. Ainsty Papists' Estates ; Test. Ebor. 74/277 (his will) ; W.MS 5/5 (dispositions). Scrope MSS (Danby Hall). Bundle 11 (1717 Scrope debts to Lord Fairfax).
3. Bodleian MS Fairfax 35 f.94.
4. W.MS 3/16 (ref. to William Fairfax at Douai) ; Lawson MS *Henry Maire's Pedigrees 1792-5* is the earliest authority to make Lord Gerard Mrs. Fairfax's grandfather.
5. W.MS 3/16 (1717 settlement) ; Gasc.MS Box 13/G (Sir Edward) ; P.R.O. C/2449/12, 13, 16 (Charles Fairfax's letter, cited in Chancery case Fairfax v. Fairfax and Loggin).
6. W.MS 3/8 (debts) ; the Gilling agents 1711-93 were, in order, Johnson, Francis Cholmeley, Hugh Tootell, William Weatherill.
7. W.MSS 1/17(3), 1/17(22), 2/7(16)—Dunbar marriage ; B.C.MS 228 (last Viscount Dunbar's will 1717).
8. W.MS extra bundle (1720 Cholmeley letters explaining estate management to Charles Fairfax) ; *ibid* 5/6(3), 5/7(5), 5/8—Lady Dunbar and Cuthbert Constable ; C.R.S. 32/321 (conversion of servant) ; W.MS 3/7 (honeymoon and funeral bills) ; *Musgrave's Obituary*. ii/226 ; Boyer. *Political State of Britain* (1721) p.456 ; Bath Abbey M.I. of Lady Dunbar, and parish register ; none of her letters seem to survive in the Clifford of Chudleigh MSS.
9. N.R.Q.S. ix/242ff. and Ampleforth Abbey Archives. *Abstract of the Title of C. G. Fairfax* (marriage settlement of Charles and Mary F.) W.MS 3/16 (Power

case); for Dom George Placid Robinson *alias* Fairfax see Ampleforth Archives. Allanson. MS *Biographies of the English Congregation O.S.B.* i/357—a 'nephew of Lord Fairfax' (detail added by Allanson as an afterthought), born in Yorkshire, professed Lambspring April 1701, to Southern Province mission (no date), agent for Lambspring, died in London Feb. 10th 1739. *Foley*. vi/483 gives the entry to the English College, Rome in 1733 and dismissal in 1735 of John Fairfax *alias* (and *vere*) Robinson, son of John Robinson and Mary Wharing heretics, born in London May 15/25 1714, converted by his uncle Fr. Fairfax O.S.B. W.MSS passim—1719-36 many references to 'cousin Fairfax' in London and 'Mr. Robinson at Gilling.' For the 1733 law suit of George Fairfax v. Lord Fairfax see Note 5 above.

10. W.MS 5/5 (petition for Lady Hungate's dispensation); *ibid* 3/7 (rent of house in Micklegate, York, by her from Edward Ricardy of Worlaby co. Lincs and 1733 receipts for her lodging at the Bar); *ibid* 3/9 (accounts for her stays at Gilling e.g. June 15th 1736 to Oct. 24th 1737); Gasc.MS Box 16/5 (marriage sett. of Sir Edward Gascoigne and Miss Hungate 1726); *ibid*. 16/6 (Feb. 11th 1724 custody of Hungate estates awarded to Dame Mary Hungate in Chancery); W.MS 1/17/22 (last settlement on Lord Fairfax).

11. We have been tempted to identify this John Francis Bredall with Jean François Bredael (Breydel), a Flemish painter of Antwerp, who worked in London for some time after 1720. But the standard German and Belgian reference works give little information about him.

12. W.MS 5/4 (draft of unsigned letter. n.d.—"Frank has returned from Lamb-spring lousy and dirty"); *ibid* 5/8 (Francis B.'s letters); *Northern Genealogist* iii/ (his presentment at York: Y.C.A. E/41B. f.84ff. (1745 licence); *Surtees Soc.* cii/262 (his freedom of York 1740); *Birt. Downside School*. pp.76-7 (Charles Edward Bredall, born London 1757, admitted to St. Vaast College, Douai, 1776); *List of Boys at St. Gregory's, Douai*; C.R.S. 24/90 (lay-sister).

13. W.MSS passim and Bar MSS (accounts at the Bar for Frances Bredall C.R.S. 38/47 (Bredall—du Vivier marriage); W.MS 3/8 (baccalaureate theses, school bill of James du Vivier at Douai paid by Lord Fairfax—Dec. 15th 1755 £15 pension with £2-10 for his pocket); *ibid*. Dec. 23rd 1769 his letter to Fairfax; *Douai Profession Book* (Downside); E. W. Waters. *The Waters Family of Ireland and France*. (Cork Hist. and Arch. Journal xxxvii); M. R. Toynbee. *Dom James Waters* (Downside Rev. Summer 1951); H. Taylor *Prince Charlie's Daughter*. pp.98, 131-2; W.MS 5/6 (3)—his visit to Cambray.

14. W.MS extra bundle: R. Hayes. *Biographical Dict. of Irishmen in France*, pp. 270-1 and information from Mr. Hayes correcting it; Gasc.MSS (Lotherton Hall MSS) July 31st 1766 C? Power borrows 50 guineas of Sir Thos. Gascoigne.

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15. W.MS extra bundle, and 5/6 (3); *Dict. de la Noblesse*. 8/947 (de la Chenaye-Desbois et Badier)—de Garcin of Avignon pedigree; Ampleforth Abbey archives. Bolton Account Book (alms to de Garcin).
16. Ev.MSS Everingham Letters i/30 (Haggerston to Constable—refers to Miss Fairfax as a possible wife for Sir Carnaby Haggerston); W.MSS 4/21, 3/9, 3/10 (marriage of Alethea); *ibid.* 2/7(16)—loan from Nathaniel; Payne. *Records of Eng. Caths. of 1715*. p.17 (Nath. Pigott's will); *List of Boys at St. Gregory's*; Allanson.MS *Biog. of Eng. Cong. O.S.B.*; C.R.S. 14/196 (Brussels nuns); D.N.B. articles on Pigott, Nathaniel and Edward; Edward Pigott's Diary (penes Major G. Anne) See also *Correspondence of Alexander Pope* ed. G. Sherburn (1956)—iii/173, Pope to Caryll Feb. 1731 on the death of Ralph Pigott at Great Ormonde St. on Dec. 29th 1730.
17. The MS *Lamspring List of Students* used by Allanson has now been lost. The MS *Historia Monasterii de Lamspring*, by Dom John Townson (1692) f.199 (at Ampleforth) says there were 13 lay "convicti" there in 1692, but, apart from those who later became monks, Townson mentions by name only one lay boy—Nicholas Errington, in 1665 (f.209).
18. W.MS 3/10 (Charles F's lodgings bills—Aug. 1730. James Walmesley 6 weeks £9—Aug. 1730. Dorothea Goodall—Sept. Mar: Ekines—Sept. Jane Degg II weeks £27-10.—Nov. 23 1730 to Jan. 18th 1731 8 weeks with Mrs. Catherine Holsam at Bath £10.8—March 1731 his bill from his sister Alethea Pigott—5 weeks lodging £10-10 and 5 weeks board £24,15); *ibid.* 3/9 (1752 4 weeks lodgings at 25/- to Mary Casanova); *ibid.* (rent, bills for the Kensington house at £114 a year); *ibid* extra bundle, and 3/9 (1764 and 1767 Fairfax at Knaresborough and Harrogate);
19. W.MSS *passim*; Ev.MSS Letters of Sir Marm. Constable; Gasc.MSS 13/G—note books and letters of Sir Edward Gascoigne; Tempest MSS; Fairfax Blakeborough. *Northern Turf History*. i/52 (1749—three of the chief patrons of Hambleton Races were Lords Fairfax and Fauconberg and Mr. Duncombe); *ibid.* iii/28-9 (1722 Charles Fairfax a subscriber to York Races); see W.MSS *passim* for subscriptions to the Assembly Rooms, York, the billiard table at Gilling in the 1730's, whips for the girls' riding, dancing lessons, battledoor and shuttlecock at Gilling.
20. W.MSS *passim*; *ibid* 3/8 1740 Lady Fairfax's accounts at Bath.
21. *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xix (1904) pp.533ff. (Archbishop Herring's letters to Hardwicke); *H.M.C. Var. Coll.* 8 MSS of Hon. F. L. Wood p.108 (Herring to Irwin); T.N.MSS Lieutenantcy Papers II/37 (Gouge to Irwin); Y.A.J. 38/84 (Gouge to York Press); wineglass penes Major W. G. Harding of Christ

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Church, Oxford ; T.N.MSS. Irwin's Correspond. (Gascoigne to Irwin) ; W.MSS extra bundle (Burke).

22. W.MSS passim (masses of bills for building) ; N.R.Q.S. ix/242 (mortgage deeds of 1748 showing financial troubles) ; W.MS 5/5 (deeds of the Castlegate house) ; *ibid* extra bundle (letters of John Carr, the York architect to Fairfax. Fairfax to Wright, his banker Oct. 9th 1762—"My daughter's house which is just finished drains me of all my money.") ; *ibid*. (Wilmot to Fairfax Jan. 22nd 1772 giving price got for Walton—the present owner of Walton has no deeds pre-1800) ; Fairfax also disposed of his tithe holdings—W.MS 5/8—Geo. Palmes, a Catholic, to Fauconberg, showing that he bought Fairfax's Acaster tithes in 1750, using Fauconberg's name) ; Fairfax sold his advowson of Gilling—Ushaw College. Eyre MSS ii/pp.157-9, and W.MSS passim, the lease of the advowson to Thos. Duncomb of Helmsley, the intervention of Cambridge University in 1755 on the grounds that, since F. was owner, by law the presentations fell to them. F. eventually sold the advowson to Fauconberg ; W.MSS extra bundle, and 3/9 (investments after 1750) ; *ibid* 5/3(7), 1/12(4), 4/21, 5/7(4)—the "Amable Maria" ; *ibid* 12/4—Antwerp assurance ; B.C.MS Box 224. (1730—advance of £5000, Lord F's still unpaid portion from Lady Dunbar, by Mr. Will. Sutton who is to reclaim it out of the Burton Constable estate.

23. *H.M.C.MSS of R. R. Hastings*, iii/25, 28 are two letters catalogued as from "Charles, Viscount Fairfax" to Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, the supporter of Wesley. But the originals, now in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, are signed "F. Fairfax" and, most likely, by one of the Denton family ; *H.M.C. 15th Rep.* App. pt. 6 pp.60, 124, C.R.S. 32/252-4 and Allanson. *MS Biog. Eng. Cong. O.S.B.* and B.C.MSS Box 310—Cuthbert Constable's Letter-Book, Lord Fauconberg to Lord Langdale ? Dec. 11th 1733—all on the Rokeby affair and further complaints against Fairfax and other Catholic gentry for proselytising. He is defended all along by Lords Carlisle and Irwin : W.MSS passim (chapel accounts) ; Brady. *The Episcopal Succession*. ii/143 and *Gilling Parish Register* (Yorks. Par. Reg. Soc.)—the 1687 Gilling confirmations ; C.R.S. 25/111-2 (1728 confirmations) ; Ushaw MSS. *Register of Vicars Apostolic*. pp. 14, 25 (1775, 1785 confirmations) ; Y.D.R. Bishopthorpe MSS H/2/9 (Papist Returns 1767 with statistical comments) and H/2/IIC (1780 returns—unfortunately the 1735 returns, in part printed in C.R.S. 32 and the 1743 returns, printed in Y.A.S.R.S., seem to have been lost). Bishop Petre's lists—MS penes Fr. V. Smith, Lanchester, Durham (1753 confirmation) ; Ushaw Coll. MSS vol. 2/127e (1780 conf.)

24. W.MS extra bundle.

25. Kirk. *Biogs. of Eng. Catholics in the 18C.* (Lord Fauconberg. Fauconberg was active as a Catholic in Dec. 1733—B.C.MSS Box 310—but there is little in

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W.MSS bearing on the reasons for his apostacy. He returned to the Church on his death bed.); Gasc.MSS 13/G—Sir Edward Gascoigne's letter; compare 2 letters of Lord Langdale to Cuthbert Constable in B.C.MSS Box 310, 1732, on the vital necessity of Catholic families increasing and of mixed marriages being avoided.

26. B.C.MSS Box 310 (The Countess of Westmorland to Cuthbert Constable. Aug. 22nd 1734); W.MS 5/8 (Lady Mary Bellasis); W.MSS passim (Fairfax's letters).
27. Collins *Peerage*, and *Life of Sir Edward Widdrington* by A Catholic Gentleman. (1921) p.26n. on the Duchess' marriage to Widdrington. The marriage was announced in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for May 1733, but Challoner did not recognise it; Bar MSS. *Anecdotes of the Bar*. has several references 1740-2 to "Her Grace's Room . . bed . . the Duchess stairs . ."; Tempest MSS (Broughton Hall) Box 14, bundle 29—papers re Widdrington and Gascoigne; Gasc.MSS Lotherton Hall MSS (Fairfax to Gascoigne on the Duchess); W.MS 3/9 (Fairfax and a Langdale trust—see also Bev.MSS Harforth (Langdale of Holme MSS.M/4/27); W.MSS 5/6(3), I/23(13), 5/3(9)—papers of the Hungate trust (see also Hungate MSS inter Gasc.MSS);
28. Lady Hungate's private will and funeral accounts are in W.MS 3/9. She left a lifetime's hoardings at the Bar, inventoried by Reynoldson, the York Catholic draper—

"a small holy water pot and cover, one pound of chocolate, one wood box of reliques 5/-, two St Huberts horns, two silver rings, one silver medal, one paper of reliques, 36 books, also in a leather mail trunk 48 books one chippe box with reliques also in a trunk one suit of church stuffe £1, one silver chalice and patt: in the chappell one stool and two cushions one bloodstone, spectacles, silk shade, crucifix with ivory head, two crosses, amber beads . . ."

Her cabinet contained a large sum in cash and her secret will wrapped round a relic of the Magi of Cologne. She desired Lord Fairfax to give—

"two gineys to my Confessor the prist of the House of the Barr for to say two Masses for my soule and a dorgge there and a half a giney to the prist of the other publick chapple for to say two Masses . . . and a giney and a half to Mr. Lynch a Monck who was confessor of Cambray when I was there the year 1735 to say three Masses . . . being of the scapler. Thre gineys to the Monck of Douay for to say seven Masses and two gineys and a half to any other prist . . . and I desire my bering to be privet and without any berers and to cost little and I give to the pore Catholicks of York two gineys and a half and I desire the superiour of the Barr for to order the nuns of the comunity to pray for my soule

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And for soe doing I leave my beding and four cheares a great dressing
table a large glass and a little clock and nothing else . . ."

Bar MS *Account Bk. of Mrs. Paston* records the receipt of this with a crucifix from Fairfax; W.MS 3/9 includes bills for Lady Hungate's private charities in York—clothing and schooling poor Catholic children at the Bar e.g. "Mrs. Cliftons note for Jacy Minkhull a year at 6d a week . . . $\frac{1}{4}$ schooling for Boby Gray 5/- . . ."; C.R.S. iv/390n. (a copy of "*Pious Reflections and Devout Prayers*" by Fr. Nicholas of the Holy Cross—"Mary Hungate her book July the 13 1733."); there is a portrait of Lady Hungate at Lotherton Hall, Aberford, Leeds.

W.MSS 5/4, 5/7(5), extra bundle (letters received by Fairfax on the Gascoigne case); Tempest MSS 14/29 (received by Stephen Tempest); Gasc. MSS Lotherton MSS and 13/G (received by Sir Thomas Gascoigne); Strickland's papers on the case are not to be found in the Sizergh MSS.

29. Leeds Diocesan Archives. Hogarth MS and Ushaw MSS (Lady Abigail's donations to the secular clergy--Charles Fairfax of York also held their funds); Northern Province O.S.B. Archives (Downside)—(i) Record Book 1640-1882, (ii) Chapter & Acct. Bk. 1665-1766, (iii) Steare's Acct. Bk. 1747-75; W.MS 3/9 and Cambray accounts in *Archives du Meurthe-et-Moselle* H/50 (Lord Fairfax as "one of our three Principals in England"—Cambray); Bar MSS Mrs. Paston's Acct. Bk. W.MS 3/9 and Coleridge. *St. Mary's Convent, York*. pp. 165 ff. (Fairfax as a financial helper of the Bar and the story of his timidity when they were persecuted by Jacques Sterne in 1748); Downside Archives, letters 1723 from Bishop Witham to ? , and Southcott to Cardinal Gualterio (Fairfax and Rokeby).
30. Northern Province O.S.B. Archives and W.MS 5/6(3)—correspondence with Benedictine superiors; W.MS extra bundle—Jenkins's letter.
31. Ampleforth Archives—Bolton MSS.
32. Gilling Parish Register; Bar MSS Paston Acct. Book.
33. Gasc.MSS Lotherton Hall MSS (re Clifton); Foster *Lancashire Families*.
34. B.C.MSS Box 328 (Fairfax-Constable marriage affair); W.MS 5/8 (Lady Mary Bellasis on Anne's nerves)—

"my poor little Friend grows worse . . . she seems to have (when out of the presence of her Father) the deepest Melancholy upon her, a thousand wild thoughts, & I really think her Brains seem much affected . . . she is low and hysterical . . . her Brain must be affected. Dr. Dealtry is uneasy about her . . ."

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35. Ampleforth Archives. Bolton MSS, W.MSS extra bundle (Pigott case); information from Stanbrook Abbey about her bequests.
36. Gilling parish register; W.MS 3/9 (funeral bills for Charles and Nicholas Fairfax); Bar MSS Paston Acct. Bk.; B.C.MSS Box 310—Charles Lord Fairfax to Cuthbert Constable June 6th 1733.
37. Ushaw Library xviii/D/2/22 (a MS commentary on the Gospels bought at the sale of Lord Fairfax's library at Gilling 1793 by Gillow); Charlton. *Some Recollections of a Northumbrian Lady* pp.171, 175 (Pigott-Fairfaxes); Ev.MSS F/3/30, H/2/1, H/6/6, 22, J/8/17 (Maxwell Constable comments on the Fairfaxes); C.R.S. 8/234 (Leyburn).

[The fourth and concluding part of this study consisting of "Addenda and Corrigenda" and "Chaplains to the Fairfax Family," will be published in the April 1961 issue.]



